

FEBRUARY 1983

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•NUCLEAR• TIMES

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A NEWSMAGAZINE ON THE ANTI-NUCLEAR WEAPONS MOVEMENT

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LETTERS

Partial Eclipse

Your January issue was fine—congratulations!—but I must respond to Roger Molander's comments on the Letters page. It is true that the public's desire for lasting peace has been expressed most recently through participation in the campaign to abolish nuclear weapons, but many people recognize this is only the first step down the road toward disarmament of conventional weapons as well. Given the enormous amounts spent on the military when the needs of the poor (whose numbers are steadily increasing) remain unmet, and the devastation that sophisticated non-nuclear arms can inflict, it is necessary to expand rather than limit arms control efforts. The public understands this intuitively, and peace organizers must respond with leadership, or they will be eclipsed by others with greater vision and more courage.

—Wendy Schwartz
A.J. Muste Memorial Institute
New York, N.Y.

Heaven Can Wait

Do you intend to permit hopelessness as part of your editorial policy? I refer to Thomas Powers' statement of *problems without solutions*, in his essay ("Planning for the Long Haul," Jan. '83).

Mr. Powers asserts correctly that "the peace movement cannot free us from the fear of nuclear weapons." Fine. Elsewhere he describes what the peace movement or any movement *can* do; increase popular awareness. Implicit, but un-

stated in the essay, is the need for people to join together to solve their own problems—including living under the threat of nuclear war—rather than depending on any savior or savior organization.

We are on the verge of the solution to many of the world's problems. All we need is time. If we keep making the same mistake of giving in to feelings of fear and powerlessness, the ultimate mistake may happen. Waiting for a savior has not been the elegant solution to any of our problems for very long.

—David Jewell
Chicago, Ill.

Distress Signal

I was distressed to see that you failed to list the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (120 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington D.C. 20002) in your January issue in your box titled, "Making Contact." As you are probably aware, the Coalition unites over 50 national religious, peace, professional and social justice organizations committed to reversing the arms race and promoting human rights. They coordinate the national lobbying work of these diverse organizations and stimulate grassroots education and organizing around the key issues.

—Brewster Rhoads
Cincinnati, Ohio
(We regret that our presentation of the "Making Contact" section made it seem as if it was meant to be a comprehensive listing, which it was never intended to be. It was a collection of addresses only for

those groups mentioned in the accompanying sidebars.—Eds.)

Consuming Passion

I wish your magazine luck. May I also offer the following suggestion:

Provide a comprehensive list of all U.S. companies and corporations that are involved in weapons production and research—and an itemized and detailed list of all of the commercial products produced by these companies or the companies they control, *plus* alternative products made by weapons-free companies. This will give us consumers some leverage to influence national policy.

—William G. Mathews
Santa Cruz, Ca.

Powerful Message

Why are you limiting the scope of your magazine to the antinuclear weapons movement when the antinuclear power *and* weapons movement gave birth (through education and direct action) to it all in the first place? The link between nuclear power and weapons should be emphasized and not de-emphasized!

—Mary K. Moore
Abalone Alliance
Santa Rosa, Ca.
(An in-depth look at the links between the nuclear weapons and nuclear energy issues will appear soon in NUCLEAR TIMES.—Eds.)

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•EARLY WARNINGS•

OH CIA CAN YOU SEE?: John Barron, author of the infamous, red-baiting *Reader's Digest* article, is busy at work finishing a book on the KGB. Barron's book, which will include his *Reader's Digest* piece as one chapter, will also expand on his theory that the American peace movement is manipulated by the KGB, according to Susan Bernstein, assistant to the editor at Reader's Digest Press. Steven Frimmer, Barron's editor at Reader's Digest Press, says that the publisher is "going to rush the book through as soon as we get the manuscript."

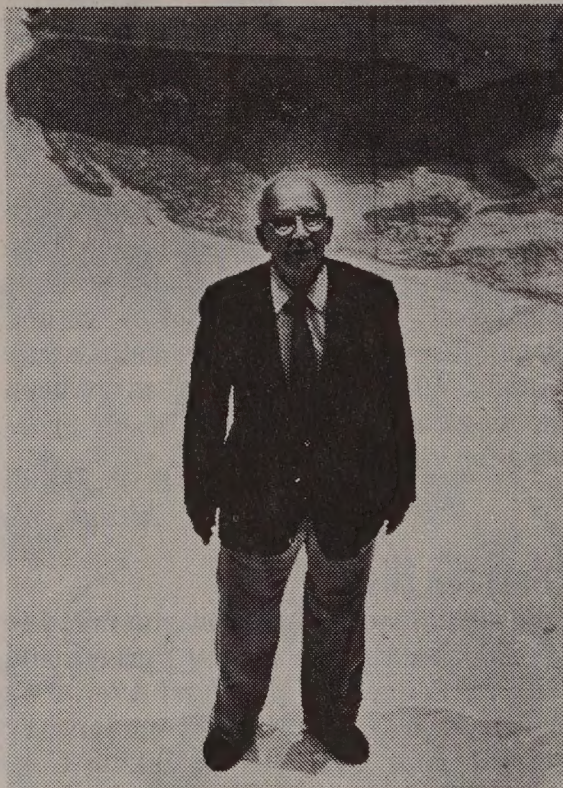
Frimmer expects the not yet titled book to be out in June. When asked if the book could be expected to cause as much of a stir as did the magazine article, Frimmer said, "I think so. There's a lot of good material in it. It will create a fuss. We're looking forward to that. But I don't know if the president will hold it up at a press conference and say this is where I get my information."

Barron has already written one book on the KGB, which was published in the mid-1970s. In working on that book, Barron admitted to *The New York Times*, he received "quite a bit of help" from the CIA.

CHIPS AHoy: On December 16, as the 97th Congress was drawing to a close, 30 Congressmen, at the request of Representative Edward Markey, met with author and philosopher Buckminster Fuller to discuss prospects for nuclear disarmament. Fuller laid his World Map, a 67-foot-long rendering of the Earth's land masses without the usual distortions in their shapes and size, on the floor of the Capitol Hill caucus room, and proceeded to dump 50,000 red poker chips on all the inhabited areas of the map. Each chip represented, Fuller noted, the damage that one nuclear warhead could cause. His graphic demonstration of the nuclear threat earned Fuller a standing ovation from his audience of Congressmen.

Fuller has demonstrated this "World Game" six times in the past. He will conduct it next on February 26 in Santa Monica, California, at Integrity Day, a conference sponsored by the Friends of Buckminster Fuller. For the next showing, Fuller is busy adding 20,000 "nuclear" chips to his arsenal—to reflect recent increases in arms production.

ALL THE DATA FIT TO PRINT: Watch for the first volume of the *Nuclear Weapons Databook* due out this spring. The *Databook*, now being put together by the Natural Resource Defense Council, promises to be "the most comprehensive compila-



The chips are down: Fuller on his map

tion of unclassified information on nuclear weapons in the United States," says Jacob Scherr, NRDC staff attorney. The entire *Databook* will contain seven volumes that cover every aspect of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weaponry.

The first volume, says Scherr, details every nuclear weapon in the U.S. arsenal. Over two years in the making, it will be published by Ballinger Publishing Company. Ballinger will also publish the second volume, due out in the fall, which examines the U.S. nuclear weapons production complex. "The general purpose of the *Databook*," says Scherr, "is to provide information and access to people outside the nuclear weapons establishment, so they can evaluate assertions about relative strengths and weaknesses."

HEROIC VOTE: When the House voted on the MX in December, some Congressmen went to more trouble than others to vote against it. Take Representative William Lehman from Miami, for instance. Although he had spent the three weeks prior to the December 7 vote in a cancer ward at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in New York, Lehman, visibly weak, flew to Washington, between treatments, to make the MX vote. This was the second time Lehman has been in the hospital for cancer of the salivary gland. Back in Washington for the new session in January, Lehman has signed on as one of the 161 co-sponsors of the freeze resolution.

CARAVAN ON ITS WAY: Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament is taking its act on the road. The PAND Theater

Caravan, which includes a circus, a parade, educational workshops, and various theater groups, will make its debut this spring in eight cities in upstate New York. Charles Tarzian, the Caravan's producer, says he expects the Caravan, which includes 60 performers, to give over 200 performances in April and May.

Spending three to five days in each city—Albany, Syracuse, Rochester, Binghamton, Buffalo, Ithaca, Brockport and Burlington—the Caravan, which includes the Bread and Puppet Theater, will hold paid performances, as well as benefit appearances at hospitals, prisons and nursing homes. A portion of the money earned will be donated to local disarmament groups, says Tarzian.

An independent production team plans to co-produce with PAND a documentary of the tour. Andre Gregory and Estelle Parsons have agreed to narrate the film.

If the Caravan proves successful in New York, Tarzian says, plans will be made for a national tour.

RX FOR DISASTER: They're doctors and they say they're against nuclear war. But they are not Physicians for Social Responsibility. About a dozen or so doctors have announced the formation of a new group, Doctors for Disaster Preparedness. In its initial press release, DDP states it is "dedicated to the saving of human life and the prevention of human suffering resulting from any natural or man-made catastrophe." This includes nuclear war. And to this end, unlike PSR, the group supports civil defense measures and has received support from The American Civil Defense Association, a membership organization that calls for extensive civil defense planning.

Steven Mayerhofer, executive director of TACDA who is also the acting executive director of DDP, says that the group was not set up specifically to oppose PSR, but that it does disagree with PSR's position on civil defense. "They say that it is immoral for physicians and other health professionals to be involved in preparation for nuclear disasters, that this encourages nuclear war," says Mayerhofer. "Our feeling is that this is the equivalent of saying that emergency rooms shouldn't be prepared for shock trauma because that would encourage automobile accidents." The group plans to hold conferences, send out speakers, and try to start local chapters.

DIRECT APPEAL: The Livermore Action Group and Mobilization for Survival have issued a call worldwide for an International Day of Nuclear Disarmament on

June 20, 1983. The two groups call on disarmament organizations to participate by conducting nonviolent direct actions. The response so far, says Victoria Woodard of LAG, which is based in Berkeley, has been encouraging.

Some groups have already announced their plans. The Catholic Worker House and Omaha Pax Christi say they will sponsor an action at the Strategic Air Command base in Omaha, Nebraska, and the Trident Non-Support Committee has planned a demonstration at Electric Boat, in Groton, Connecticut, which manufactures Trident submarines. LAG itself will undertake a "massive" blockade of Lawrence Livermore Laboratory in Livermore, California, where nuclear weapons are designed, says Woodard. Already, groups in Canada, Japan and Australia have expressed interest. LAG and MOB are urging all participants to endorse three points: global nuclear disarmament; demilitarization and non-intervention; and equitable distribution of wealth and resources among nations.

FREEZE INTO FREEZES WON'T GO: An article in *The Washington Post* on January 5 raised a few eyebrows when it said that freeze movement leaders were "irritated" by a conference in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on "The Nuclear Weapons Freeze and Arms Control," presented by Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, January 13-15. Some freeze activists believed that the panels were stacked with arms control experts who would attempt to shoot down the freeze on technical grounds. One movement leader, Randall Forsberg, felt that the "real" freeze was being "tokenized"; several arms control proposals, labeled "freezes" by their proponents (but less comprehensive than Forsberg's plan and with much less popular support) were to be given equal weight with her proposal. One of the organizers of the conference, Fen Hampson, observed that "Randy has taken a rather possessive attitude toward the freeze."

In the end, both freeze activists and arms control experts agreed that the conference turned out quite well. "Surprisingly, there was more consensus among the arms control experts and activists than anticipated by Forsberg," says Liz Bernstein of the public education staff of Forsberg's Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies. "The predominant tone was one of cooperation, if not total agreement on the issue." The burden of expert testimony was that there was no reason, technically, why a freeze could not work. Even serious problems concerning verification, most experts said, could be overcome. ☐

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Anti-Freeze Campaign Heats Up

It's about time that we looked at what the pro-freeze groups did and see why they were so successful," says Rick Sellers, president of the National Forum, a Montgomery, Alabama-based group that has announced the start of an anti-freeze campaign.

The National Forum, formerly named the Jeremiah Denton Forum after its honorary chairman, the conservative U.S. senator, is just one of a loose network of conservative groups that have launched the first organized drives against the freeze.

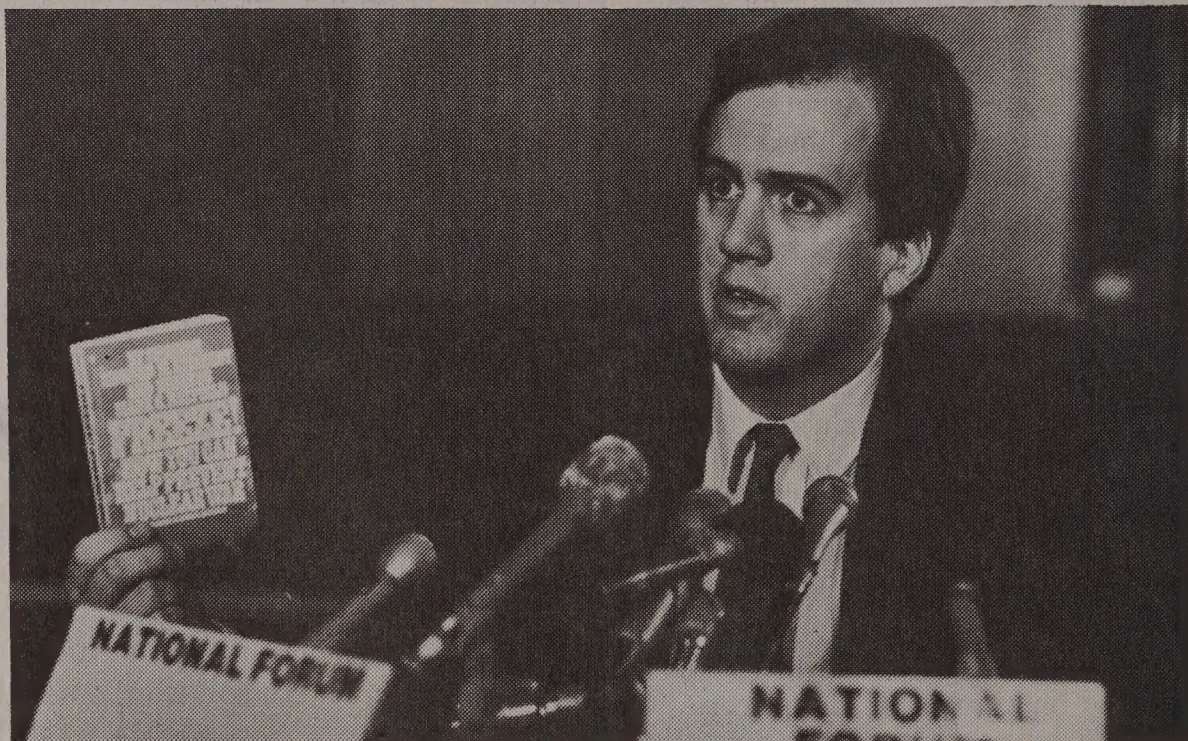
Sellers' group hopes to raise \$100,000 to fund its anti-freeze efforts. The American Conservative Union (ACU), a grass-roots organization founded in 1964, based in Washington, D.C., and representing 350,000 members, has initiated a \$1 million campaign to oppose the freeze. The American Security Council—a Boston, Virginia-based advocacy group described as the "organized leader of the military-industrial complex" by Group Research, which monitors right-wing groups—has also been directing much of its efforts against the freeze.

"This is a fundamental issue that has to be touched upon by conservatives," says Rod Hiduskey, ACU's assistant projects director. "The nuclear freeze is the most important issue to develop in the ACU's lifetime."

"Our differences with the freeze movement," Sellers adds, "amount to only one thing: how do you achieve peace? History shows us that the only way to peace is through strength. Sure, we can have a great intellectual discourse. But you have to remember that some of us are right, and some of us are wrong."

Spokesmen for the groups say that there is no connection between their campaigns and the White House anti-freeze drive, but all add that Administration officials are sympathetic to their efforts. "There's been no one out there helping them until now," says Sellers. "They must be happy about this."

While the three groups each maintain their own agenda, some of their plans overlap. Each group says it will concentrate on anti-freeze advocacy and con-



Sellers announcing \$100,000 drive: "Some of us are right, some are wrong."

gressional lobbying.

With the \$1 million war chest raised from its members, the ACU plans to develop radio and television ads opposing the freeze, as well as one or two documentaries. It will also assemble "truth squads"—panels of experts in the field "who will travel across the nation and bring out the truth and consequences of the issue," says the ACU's Hiduskey.

Although he will not comment on specific plans, Phil Cox, staff assistant to American Security Council president, John Fisher, says that the American Security Council will conduct a variety of events, including conferences. It will continue to produce anti-freeze material and distribute its anti-freeze film, *Countdown for America*.

The National Forum, says Sellers, is also trying to distribute that movie, and has asked television stations to air the film as a public service. "So far, the public service requests are not going very well," Sellers admits. The National Forum also plans to conduct an event in Washington, D.C., to coincide with the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign's national lobbying days, March 7 and 8.

Representatives of these conservative organizations claim that each anti-freeze campaign is autonomous. "There is no correlation between what we're doing

and the ACU," says Cox. "That is not to say that we don't approve of what they're doing. But we might take different paths." These groups, however, do maintain organizational ties to one another.

For instance, the ACU and National Forum are both members of the American Security Council's Coalition for Peace Through Strength, which is co-chaired by Sellers. The Coalition claims to be the largest foreign policy congressional caucus. (In the last Congress, according to Sellers, 278 senators and representatives endorsed the Coalition's "peace-through-strength" call.) Fourteen state legislatures have passed peace-through-strength referenda, which call for U.S. military and technological superiority, and Sellers says that a peace-through-strength referendum campaign, similar to the freeze campaign's effort, might be organized.

While these conservative groups might not act in concert, they all echo the same line—the Administration's—in opposing the freeze. All call for increased military spending and argue that a freeze will work to a Soviet advantage. "We do not consider that a balance of power exists," says Cox. "We find an imbalance exists. The Soviet Union is not yet in a position to exploit it militarily. But that does not mean they cannot exploit it dip-

lomatically. Take Cuba and Carter—there was some diplomatic coercion involved there.”

There is at least one official connection between the American Security Council's campaign and the White House. A year ago, when the Council's Coalition for Peace Through Strength began to solicit funds to oppose the freeze, it sent out a six-page appeal for funds signed by retired Admiral Thomas Moorer. The admiral, a former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, sits on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. In the letter, Moorer promised to give President Reagan the names of contributors who wished to be identified.

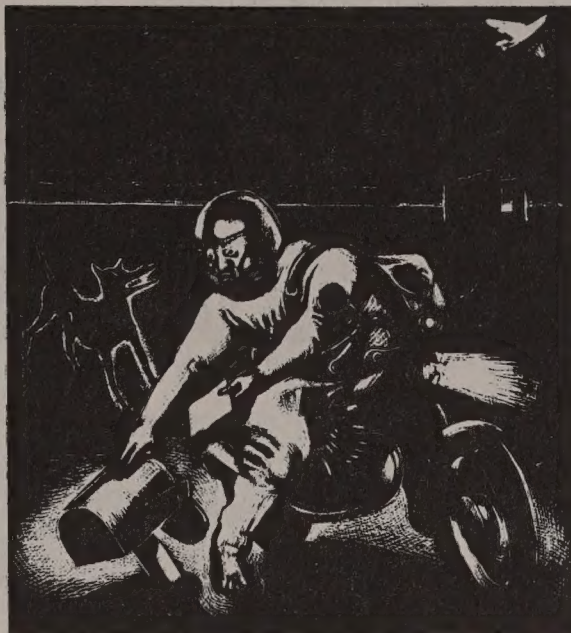
Like President Reagan, at least one of these groups, the National Forum, believes that one way to counter the growing call for a freeze is to link the freeze campaign with the KGB. When asked if he thought the freeze movement was being manipulated by the Soviet Union, Sellers declined to comment, but he did say, “To freeze at the present level is exactly what the Soviet Union wants.” He adds, “If the American people learn that the goals of the KGB and the Soviet Union are the same as those of the freeze movement, then we'll be doing all right.” Denton, who organized the Forum's campaign with Sellers, has repeatedly accused the freeze movement of working on behalf of the Soviet Union.

Despite these conservative groups' ability to raise money—the ACU, for example, raised \$1 million for its campaign against SALT II and over \$3 million for its drive against the Panama Canal treaty, according to Hiduskey—many freeze activists in Washington, are not worried about these anti-freeze campaigns. “It's too little too late,” says Chad Dobson, coordinator of the Arms Control Computer Network. Chaplain Morrison of the Washington office of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign also sees no reason to fear these anti-freeze efforts. “I don't think they can turn people around,” he observes. “Momentum is on our side.”

But Hiduskey disagrees. He notes that the ACU ran very effective campaigns against SALT II and the Panama Canal treaty. “I believe that if we get out and let the public know the other side of the issue we can bring pressure to bear on Congress not to vote for the freeze,” Hiduskey comments. Sellers, who claims the only reason the freeze has been so successful is because it caught conservatives napping, says he is optimistic. “Last November,” he explains, “we were involved in only two of the states with freeze referendums—California and Arizona. In California we closed a 30-point gap, and we beat them in Arizona.”

—David Corn

DOOMSDAY DRAFT



After The Bomb: Uncle Sam Still Wants You

Before shockwaves from a nuclear attack have passed, officials of the U.S. Selective Service System, safe in underground bunkers, will begin preparing mailgrams for delivery to draft registrants. After Congress passed an induction measure, the mailgrams would be hastily dispatched.

The goal, outlined in the agency's nuclear emergency plan, would be to coax 100,000 young men to straggle into their local draft boards within 30 days, says Wil Ebel, assistant director of the office of government and public affairs of the Selective Service. The agency's emergency timetable, he notes, calls for the first inductees to present themselves to the armed services on the thirteenth day following a nuclear exchange.

The Selective Service's emergency plan—called a Continuity of Operations Plan—was prepared in response to an order issued by President Reagan, which called on 33 federal departments and agencies to develop such plans. Of all these agencies and departments, only the Selective Service has not yet classified its nuclear emergency plan.

When asked how the sheltered Selective Service officials would know where to send the draft mailgrams after the mass evacuations and the devastation of a nuclear barrage, Colonel John Abrahamson, the emergency coordinator, answered, “We'd be dependent on the individual draft registrant. He is required to update his address if he moves. If we don't hear from him we'll send the mailgram to his last known address.”

Fritz Oelrich, co-author of the new

emergency preparedness plan, says: “I admit there's a certain irony in the idea of a post-nuclear attack draft but I think we'll be able to do it.” When Oelrich, who came to Selective Service from a post as dean of Bee County Community College in Beeville, Texas, talks about adjustments and fine tuning of the nuclear plan, he sometimes sounds like a baseball manager. His preparedness talk is laced with “players,” “teams,” “necessary substitutions” and “revisions of the line-up.”

Back in 1981 President Reagan cited 33 federal departments and agencies having “essential uninterrupted national functions.” He called on each of these agencies to select key personnel for three executive teams, which would disperse in different directions and carry on after nuclear attack. Thomas K. Turnage, director of one of the elite 33 agencies, the Selective Service System, had a Continuity of Operations Plan prepared in July, 1982.

The Selective Service paper satisfies the Reagan directive by identifying 26 “essential” bureaucrats who will assist Turnage in reconstituting the agency after a nuclear exchange. The document states plainly that “the basic principle of this plan is that authority and responsibility are never vacated.” Selective Service managerial department heads occupy all the team slots, except for a trio of secretaries.

According to the plan, if the missiles were heading our way, the President or the director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency would notify Turnage that an “ATTACK WARNING” was in effect. Theoretically, the System's 26 indispensable employees, now based in Georgetown, would automatically go scurrying to their emergency ready positions. Team A's cadre of nine would remain at the Georgetown headquarters; Team B's eight-member staff would function at Mt. Weather, FEMA's underground bunker located near Berryville, Virginia; and Team C's nine bureaucrats would establish an underground Alternate National Headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. Director Turnage would issue commands from his Georgetown office until “forced to leave.” He would be flown ahead of incoming missiles to Mt. Weather, and then on to the Atlanta base of operations.

Power would thus transfer from Team A down the line. Those who had survived in the bunkers would advise the president about mobilizing military manpower, consulting the rosters of registrants stored at the Joint Computer Center in the U.S. Naval Training Center, Great Lakes, Illinois. If that computer is bombed out, no problem; duplicate rosters are entered at the W.R. Church Computer Center in the Naval

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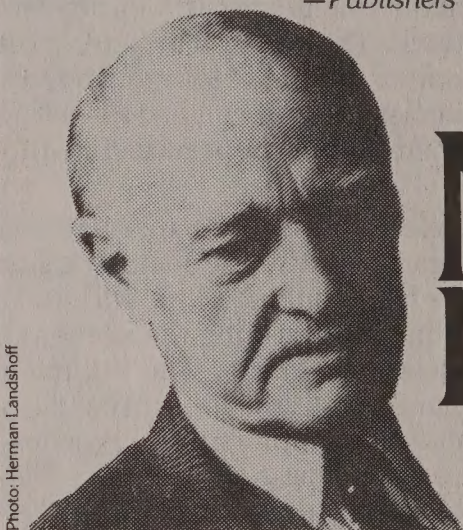


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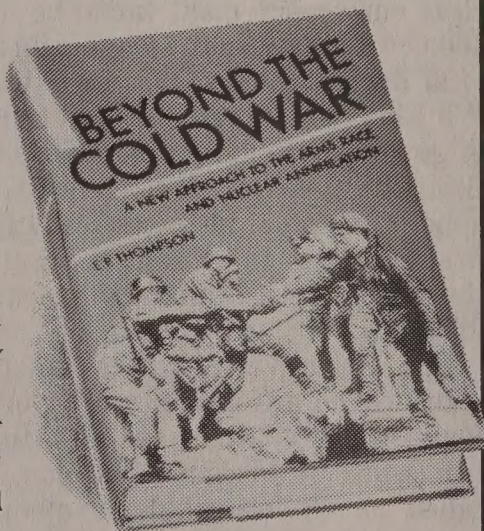
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Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. The computers would target the mailgrams based on information filed before the nuclear attack.

This is as much as any of the "chosen" Selective Service employees knows about his or her mission in a nuclear emergency. Indeed, it seems to be considerably more than most know. William B. Olney, assistant emergency coordinator and co-author of the Selective Service plan says, "Employees, who know who they are, are instructed to go to a certain place on a certain signal. At the time of the emergency the director will spell out our duties."

Herbert Puscheck, who left Selective Service at the end of October, 1982 after a stint as emergency coordinator says, "We never spent time preparing for nuclear war exclusively. We concentrate on delivering draftees for conventional warfare." Puscheck adds, "I have been to one of the government bunkers near Washington, and I would go there in an emergency, but I can't remember any special briefings or training for a nuclear crisis."

What's more, there seems to be considerable confusion as to just who is entitled to flee to the bunkers. The executive team rosters list job titles, but do not include the corresponding names of specific people. "Assignments are determined by job," Olney explains. "Whoever sits in my chair is placed on one of those teams."

But there is a continuous turnover of personnel at Selective Service, and so it appears that at any given moment it is unclear who sits in which chair. For example, in recent months three men have served as Selective Service's emergency coordinator. Olney told two reporters that he was a member of two different teams. When questioned, one of the secretaries on the list claimed she had no idea she was assigned to an emergency team. In truth, if an "ATTACK WARNING" was sounded at Selective Service headquarters, it's likely that the flight to the bunkers would be preceded by a lively debate over who was who, and who gets to go.

Even the FEMA cards, the so-called "bunker passes," have not yet been distributed to all of the Selective Service elite. The cards display a photo of the employee, his blood type and a message asking that "full assistance and unrestricted movement be afforded the person to whom this card is issued." Preparedness plan author, Fritz Oelrich, insists, "only one-third of the team members don't have FEMA cards, and we've just ordered a new batch which should be in soon."

—Michael Abeshouse

Michael Abeshouse is a freelance investigative reporter.

The Next Step: Acting On Faith?

The religious community in America, which has grown dramatically hostile to the arms race, is now at a critical juncture, and the direction it takes may shape the peace movement—and the churches—for years to come.

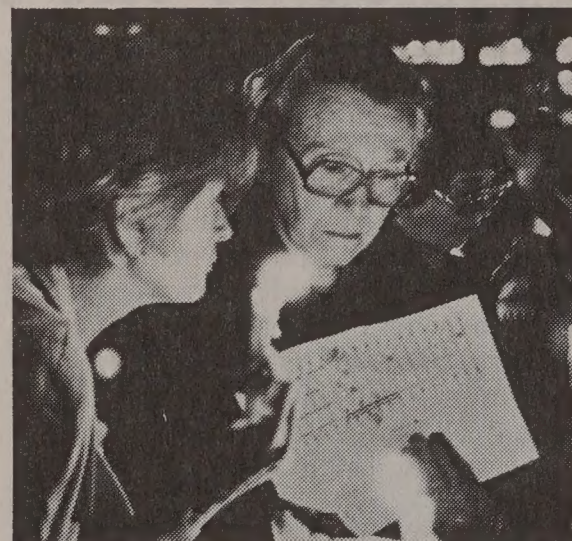
The nation's religious leadership must decide if they will place their resources behind their words. If they do, and there are budding signs they might, they will clash with U.S. policies in a confrontation with widespread and profound implications. If they do not, many observers feel, the peace movement will lack the breadth and support to alter the path leading to nuclear confrontation.

The peace movement has ebbed and flowed through more than three decades of opposition to U.S. and Soviet nuclear arms policies: First, the "Ban the Bomb" days of the 1950s, then the anti-war years of the 1960s and early 1970s, and now the astonishingly successful nuclear freeze campaign of the early 1980s. The religious community has been active in each of these movements, but as theologian Harvey Cox has pointed out, "the strength of declarations made by the mainstream churches [today] is really unprecedented." Richard Deats, executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, points out: "The center of peace activism used to be the college campuses. Today it seems to be the religious community."

Why is the religious community so critical to the peace movement of the 1980s? Among all who participate in the movement no other single element can offer the base and the legitimacy that religious leadership can provide. None other can reach so many people so intimately. And none is as uniquely positioned to change attitudes toward warfare, or to articulate a new moral vision. In the end, this latter ability may be the most crucial in determining if there will be a nuclear war.

"The churches have said the right things," says Rose Lucey, a former board member of the San Francisco-based Ecumenical Peace Institute. "They have put the peace issue up front. But the critical question remains: Will they back up their words with church resources?"

After more than three decades of



working for peace, Lucey is quick to point out, the churches have failed to adequately educate their members on how to *make* peace. Lucey feels that church leaders must start working immediately to help individuals who would face severe sacrifices should they quit a job in the defense industry, withhold federal income taxes or engage in civil disobedience.

"If we are going to really re-direct our society and wean ourselves from a military-oriented economy," Lucey says, "then many individual sacrifices will be required. Will the churches be there to cushion the blows?"

John M. Swomley, Jr., president of the Methodist Peace Fellowship and a teacher of Christian ethics at St. Paul School of Theology in Kansas City, Missouri, is critical of churches that have passed resolutions defending conscientious objectors, while doing little to support the COs once they stake their

claims. "Why the silence?" Swomley asks.

On the other hand, there is growing talk in some churches of raising money to help support those who leave jobs in the defense industry. Leroy T. Matthiesen, a Catholic Bishop in Amarillo, Texas, established a fund in 1981 after he suggested that Catholics in his diocese consider leaving their jobs at the Pantex plant, the final assembly place for all nuclear weapons in the United States. Tens of thousands of dollars in donations poured in from throughout the country.

The growing tax resistance movement was partly inspired by Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen of Seattle who, in July 1981, called upon those in his diocese to consider withholding one-half of their federal income tax payments in protest against the arms buildup. In the wake of Hunthausen's statements, contributions to his diocese from its members have

grown substantially. Recent statements by members of the Reagan Administration, who say they will crack down on tax resisters, indicate that Washington is concerned. Many religious figures, including Swomley and Philip Berrigan, are calling for a show of resistance this spring through acts of "non-collaboration," including withholding taxes on April 15. Will the religious leadership back such steps? Will they support tax resisters, such as Hunthausen, who face federal indictment and imprisonment?

On the whole, the church leadership has not kept up with activists within the denominations, Swomley notes. "It's been said that for every bishop who is speaking out, there are several nuns with pins," he says. Religious women in America have been at the forefront of peace and justice advocacy and have served as the conscience of much of the rest of the church.

The Old & The New

It was not always so easy to create change from the congregation up. "In the 1960s we went to jail alone," Daniel Berrigan has said. "Now there are bishops at our side and Jesuits putting up bail."

Once prodded along this road by the activists, church leaders begin to speak out, lending legitimacy to grassroots peace activities. Eventually, many of those who fill the pews begin to trust the activists, and the ranks of peace organizations grow.

Included among the groups that have focused on the arms race have been the traditional "peace churches," the Mennonites, Quakers and Church of the Brethren. But in addition, mainstream Protestant churches, including the Episcopal Church, the American Lutheran Church (which is both politically and theologically conservative) and the Presbyterian Church have denounced the current arms buildup. In 1981 the National Council of Churches issued a strong resolution in support of a bilateral nuclear freeze, and called upon member organizations to direct their resources to educating on behalf of the freeze. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations has strongly backed the freeze.

While the Washington, D.C.-based Sojourners, and their founder, Jim Wallis, have spearheaded peace activities among evangelicals, the most important evangelical convert to the peace movement has been Billy Graham, who experienced a change of heart two years ago and unexpectedly began to call for disarmament in his Crusades. Graham said that he felt he had a "responsibility" to speak out for peace. By doing so he outraged many of his political friends but he has made the



1957 Ban the Bomb protest in Washington

idea of disarmament respectable among many evangelicals. "I believe in risks for peace," Graham has said.

Lessons from Vietnam

How did the religious community come to embrace, and inspire, the new peace movement? Jim Rice of Sojourners refers to "an outpouring of spirit, even more than Reagan's provocative stance, that has caused the revitalization of the peace movement." Like so many others, religious groups and leaders were influenced by what Bill Price of World Peacemakers calls "the miracle of the European peace movement," which is led largely by church activists.

But no assessment of the peace movement can be undertaken without recalling the Vietnam War, the opposition to it, and its influence on the movement today.

From 1965 to 1975—almost one-third of the Atomic Age—peace activities in the United States focused on Vietnam. There could be little discussion of nuclear issues while children were being napalmed. By removing national attention from the nuclear issue while a new generation of weapons was quietly being introduced into the arsenals of the superpowers, the Vietnam War gave weapons-boosters a 10-year grace period.

But Vietnam also taught the movement many critical lessons, among them that religious denominations could work effectively together across church lines. There was a time, as late as the mid-1960s, when "ecumenism" was solely the work of theologians studying scripture and church documents in an attempt to justify bringing the denominations closer together. Vietnam ended that. Religious distinctions—and denominational rival-

ries—faded away during planning sessions for peace marches. Prayer vigils were held in whichever church had the space. Ecumenism, in practice rather than in theory, was born.

This forging of concerns has lasted until today, and has greatly affected the nature of many churches—the ways they look at themselves, each other, and the world. Members of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish organizations alike are all working to apply simple biblical notions to a world seemingly bent on self-destruction. And within all of these denominations and groups, religious distinctions are essentially irrelevant.

The common commitment is to a more equitable and peaceful world. What has emerged in the 1980s within the peace movement is a new linkage, often missing during the 1960s, of peace and economic issues. This marks a new maturity as well as a new challenge for the churches. Ironically, President Reagan, by means of his budget proposals to boost defense spending at the expense of social programs, helped establish this link. A growing number of churches, such as the Quakers and the Mennonites, are now researching the effects and benefits of converting the U.S. economy from militaristic to peaceful business.

The Catholic church's bonds to Central America have also served to educate key members of many denominations. Last month over 300 religious leaders in America—including 22 bishops, several heads of Protestant denominations and nine rabbis—signed a message denouncing the Reagan Administration's policies in Central America. It was not until 1971, very late in the Vietnam War, that the bishops condemned U.S. involvement. But 10 years later a new generation of bishops has emerged and many are determined to halt further U.S. military aid to El Salvador.

The "Third Awakening"?

There appears to be a significant religious revival occurring in many U.S. churches as they get deeper into the disarmament issue. Joe Holland of the Washington-based Catholic think tank, the Center of Concern, calls this the "Third Great Awakening in America." The first religious revival, he says, led to a social protest against Britain and finally to revolution in the 13 colonies. The second, he says, launched the struggle against slavery. Now the third revival, Holland believes, is moving the nation to revolt against those "who have come to control our government and threaten the nation with nuclear war."

How does this revival affect the churches themselves? Many religious-

minded people who contemplate the arms race are eventually forced to ask themselves a very basic question of faith: Where do I place my ultimate trust—in the nuclear umbrella or in God? Consequently, within the churches there is increasing talk of “nuclear idolatry,” deeper examination of the scriptures, and a renewal of faith.

Will the new activism divide the church and ultimately prove counter-productive? Divisions are indeed likely but those who support peace initiatives argue that division itself is a sign of life and it is better to be alive than to be irrelevant. Even if only a small portion of those who claim religious beliefs follow the initiatives being taken by church leadership, the impact will be substantial. Regardless of how many follow, it is essential, peace proponents argue, that religious leaders articulate moral teachings as they understand them, no matter how “secular” they seem.

Asked recently whether he favored

disarmament by the United States—irrespective of a Soviet reduction—Thomas Gumbleton, auxiliary bishop of Detroit and head of Pax Christi USA, answered: “Yes. When you make judgments about what is morally right or morally wrong, you can never base your judgment on what someone else does. You teach your children not to steal because it is wrong. You don’t say, ‘Don’t steal unless you see somebody else stealing.’”

Should the churches now go on to actively confront what many of their leaders have called the greatest moral peril of our time—the nuclear arms buildup—and if they commit their resources and full energies to reversing this buildup, then they will undoubtedly transform themselves in the process, and possibly change the course of history.

—Thomas C. Fox

Thomas C. Fox is editor of the National Catholic Reporter.

PEACE WITH JUSTICE WEEK

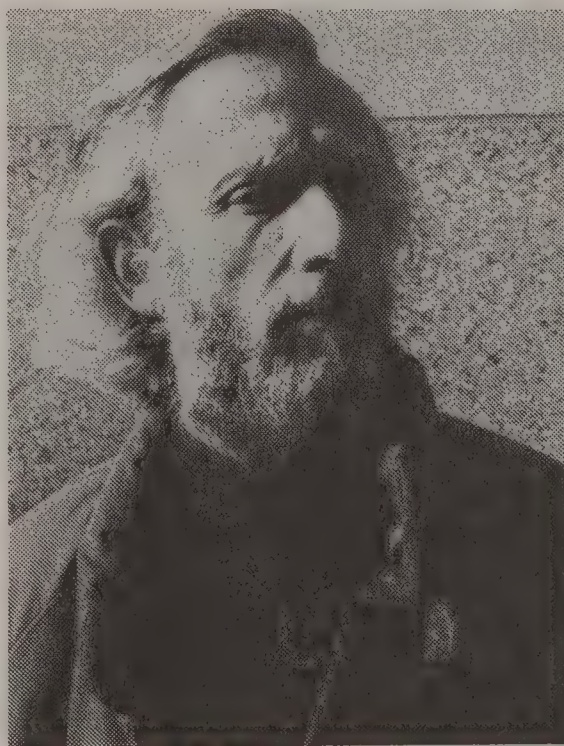
Congress Comes To The Church . . .

The church’s vocation is to promote unity,” says Dwain Epps of the National Council of Churches, reflecting on the expanded role of the church in political issues. “We hope to create groups that involve both streams of concern—peace and justice—because a broad social agenda needs to be discussed, and we want to avoid partial solutions.”

It is to this end that the NCC, a Protestant policy-making organization of 33 churches, has initiated a multi-faith Peace with Justice Week this year that will end on the fifth annual Peace Sabbath Weekend on May 28-30. The connection between the week and weekend is not formal. The NCC, notes Esther Cassidy of the Mobilization for Survival’s Religious Task Force, has been strongly promoting economic justice issues (both in the United States and abroad) for years, but now has “basically decided it is time to do peace in a big way.”

“We want to try and address the causes and the process of militarization in society,” says Epps, the NCC’s director of international affairs, “and we want to understand how the government seeks military solutions to political and economic problems.”

The sponsors of Peace with Justice Week—the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Riverside Church Disarmament Program, the Religious Task Force, Sojourners, Clergy and Laity Concerned, a coalition of black church groups known as Partners in Ecumenism, World Peace-



Paul Mayer: “changing the complexion”

makers, and New Call to Peacemaking—are distributing a letter to church groups across the country. The message encourages a week of study, worship and action on international human rights, peace and arms control, and local issues such as unemployment, racism and poverty. The only specific blueprint for action calls for a grassroots lobbying effort, through church-sponsored public hearings with local and federal officials, to allow people to voice their concerns directly. This is intended to “bring Congress to the congregation,” as Epps puts it.

This is not the first time that disarmament activists have recognized the importance of merging with community leaders. Peace with Justice Week, however, represents the first nation-wide, church-sponsored effort to align national and community groups on the issues of disarmament and social justice.

Epps believes it is significant that the incentive for Peace with Justice Week came, not from the pulpit, but from the congregation. “The church leadership has underestimated the level of concern,” Epps says. “Peace with Justice Week is a response to the constituency,” he adds, suggesting that the planners are not trying to appeal to already politicized religious groups, but to conventional churchgoers.

Emily Thomas of Clergy and Laity Concerned points out that during Peace with Justice Week, “We need to focus on who is being harmed already by the military buildup, instead of talking only about the disastrous nuclear war possibilities.” This statement echoes the concern of black church leaders, one of whom told Paul Mayer, director of the Mobilization for Survival’s Religious Task Force: “You’re worried about bombs falling, but they’ve been falling on *us* for years.”

For this reason, Mayer notes, “we’re working to change the complexion of the peace movement.” Mayer feels that if the disarmament movement is to succeed, “It can’t remain a white, middle class, single-issue movement. We’re also in the midst of rampant economic deterioration, and we need to link military spending with human needs.”

Because the specific events planned for the week will be decided by the local groups, none of the national sponsors are calling for civil disobedience activities. “We want to respect people’s level of commitment,” says Mayer. Nevertheless, Esther Cassidy of the Religious Task Force says that protests against the proposed deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe at the end of the year are already in the planning stage. “People are beginning to feel the pressure to do something about that,” she says.

Last year during Peace Sabbath Weekend, May 28-30, over 10,000 congregations participated in a variety of activities manifesting their desire for peace, such as a worship service on “Pentecost and the Poseidon Submarine,” held at the entrance to a submarine base at King’s Bay, Georgia, and prayer vigils held in 16 communities between Salt Lake City, Utah and Bangor, Washington, along the railroad tracks on which motors for the Trident missile are transported. While this year’s Peace Sabbath Weekend is sponsored by many of the same organizations sponsoring Peace

with Justice Week, there is a difference in emphasis between the week and the weekend. The week is devoted to learning about the arms race and its relationship to the struggle for social justice, while the weekend is focused on worship and nuclear disarmament activism.

Although the sponsors of both events are all religious groups, secular organizations are invited to participate. Ron Hanft of the Manhattan Project, which serves as a clearinghouse for the freeze campaign, emphasizes the importance of linking the peace and justice issues: "Military spending is 'dead end' production. There is no exchange of goods, and it doesn't enhance the quality of life. This year we want to make the connection between arms and economics more center stage."

Because of the primacy of the pastoral letter, Catholic peace groups' work on preparations for the week will be minimal. But according to Joseph Zwilling, a spokesman for the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, the link between peace and justice is strong in the Catholic teaching and was made plain by the

words of Pope John Paul II: "If you want peace, work for justice."

While it is too early to foresee possible impediments to the success of the event, some of the sponsors express concern that the Evangelical community, generally more conservative on social issues, may be reluctant to be closely aligned with more liberal faiths. This concern may be premature; a coalition of Evangelicals, Calvinists and others are sponsoring a conference on "The Church and Peacemaking in the Nuclear Age: A Biblical Perspective," from May 25-28, at the Fuller Theological Seminary in California, which will coincide with Peace with Justice Week.

Because of the variety of groups, activities and priorities that are part of Peace with Justice Week and Peace Sabbath Weekend, observers will see "certain tensions and conflicts," Paul Mayer says. "But if we're really committed to building a large and inclusive religious movement, we have to accept all working styles and methods." —Peter Cunningham

Peter Cunningham is a freelance writer in New York.

gressmen and ask them to vote against both the MX and Pershing II missile. The church sent out an additional alert solely on the MX to 4000 of its own members. Many of the people who received these notices also received phone calls informing them of the upcoming House vote.

"Our role is acting as a linchpin, connecting constituents and Congress," says the UCC's Eick. "We started doing this strategic work only two years ago, and now we're seeing that it pays off."

As more churches actively oppose the nuclear arms buildup, lobbyists within the religious community are finding that their status on the Hill is rising. "With our ability to produce constituent mail, our display of knowledge on the subject, and resources, we have enhanced our positions as lobbyists," says Eick. "During the MX debate, in congressional offices—even those of conservative Congressmen—the phones were ringing off the hook with calls and they were flooded with mail clearly coming from the religious community."

"We in the lobbying effort are now in a more respectable situation," says Ruth Nieland, an issue writer for NETWORK, a Catholic social justice lobby unaffiliated with the established church. "The bishops' statement has given us credibility and grass-roots pressure has made Congresspeople more sensitive to our efforts." During the autumn anti-MX campaign, NETWORK sent legislative alerts and information to its 7000 members, who are organized by Congressional district. Just before the final vote, it operated a phone chain among its members, encouraging them to pressure their Congressmen to vote against the MX. NETWORK now plans to lobby against individual nuclear weapon systems and press for the freeze and a comprehensive test ban treaty.

Many denominations are currently lobbying on behalf of the House freeze resolution. "This is the first time that we've directly confronted the arms race in this way," says the Reverend William Weiler, director of the Washington office of the Episcopal Church. Last September, the General Convention of the church endorsed the freeze as the first step toward cutting in half the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals. As Weiler explains, it is the responsibility of his office to convey to Congress and the president the church's stand on the arms race.

"The church plays a unique role now," Eick adds. "At its heart is the principle that even at the most hopeless of times it is possible for God to act and change the course of history. It says you can be God's hands and feet—and mouth—right now."

—David Corn

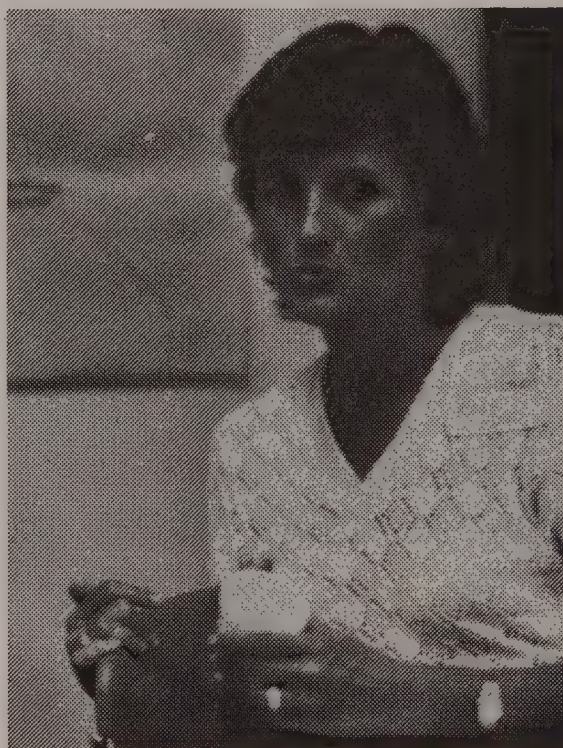
LOBBYING

... The Church Comes to Congress

On December 7, the day that production funds for the MX were rejected by the House, 33 representatives of the United Church of Christ were busy shuffling through the hallways of the various House office buildings prior to the vote. Directed by Gretchen Eick, a policy advocate for the United Church of Christ, the volunteers, mostly local church members, visited the offices of every representative, meeting with staffers and delivering a letter signed by 17 religious organizations opposing the MX.

Representatives of the Mennonite Church and the United Methodist Church were also busy on Capitol Hill that day. Other denominations were conducting phone alerts, encouraging their members to call or write their Congressional representatives.

Although some churches, such as the Quakers, have been lobbying against the arms race for nearly 40 years, many denominations have only recently begun to play political hardball. They form what the *Washington Post* recently called "a new political force." More churches and religious organizations than ever before are now conducting the standard lobbying activities—sending representatives to the Hill, operating legislative alerts,



Eick: "leading a new political force"

and organizing within Congressional districts. The United Church of Christ, for example, has organizers in close to 200 districts.

In the weeks before the House vote, the United Church of Christ sent out an action alert to the 14,000 members of IMPACT, an interfaith legislative alert network, urging that they contact their con-

From Margin To Mainstream

If the Roman Catholic Church in America sheds its historical superpatriotism to become a peace church, then Pax Christi USA, a strong, little newcomer, will deserve a good deal of credit.

Of the five members of the committee that is drafting the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' controversial "pastoral letter" on war and peace, two belong to Pax Christi, and one of them, Auxiliary Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit, is president of Pax Christi. But Pax Christi USA was working on peace issues years before the bishops' committee was convened, and its influence in the church goes well beyond the pastoral letter.

Largely unknown even among Catholics, Pax Christi (Peace of Christ) was founded in France just after World War II and now has chapters in 13 nations with world headquarters in Antwerp, Belgium. Pax Christi USA was started in the late 1960s, dedicated "to work with all people for peace for all humankind." As Thomas Gumbleton puts it, "We're trying to bring to Catholic people the teaching tradition of their church on war and peace."

Pax Christi USA's 12-person national council has spelled out a program for its nearly 7000 members, which includes fostering nuclear and non-nuclear disarmament, upholding primacy of conscience (including "selective conscientious objection"), and examining militarism in education and suggesting alternatives. Members are not required to be pacifists, but most of them are. "Pax Christi wants to win over all the kinds of people we go to Mass with on Sunday, but still support the prophets," says Sister Mary Evelyn Jegen, national coordinator from 1978 to 1982.

Arranged in loosely defined chapters of varying sizes in all 50 states, Pax Christi is made up of clergy and laypeople, most of whom are over 40, from across the theological spectrum, and politically range from moderate to left of center. Fifty-seven U.S. bishops, more than 15 percent of the bishops in this country are members.

Beyond the movement's methodology of prayer-study-action, activities differ from chapter to chapter, member to member. Two Pax Christi USA members were among the Trident Nein protesters arrested in Connecticut. But one member on the national council confesses: "Civil disobedience would be my sin, not

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my grace."

From Pax Christi headquarters in a United Church of Christ facility in Chicago, a tiny staff uses a \$200,000 membership-supported budget for a newsletter, "peacework" mailings to about 200 Pax Christi leaders, public statements, educational materials, workshops, retreats, regional and national meetings. The effect on the American church? "Beneficial," according to Gumbleton.

Not all Catholics, however, are pleased about Pax Christi USA.

Monsignor George A. Kelly, professor of Contemporary Catholic Problems at St. John's University in Jamaica, New York, is upset that the committee drafting the pastoral letter on war and peace "is stacked" with Pax Christi members.

What the committee's slant may mean troubles Kelly more than how it came about. "Pax Christi people are distorting the whole Christian tradition when it comes to the state," he says. "Why people make war has nothing to do with the pieties these people are speaking. Gumbleton thinks there is a moral law to ban the bomb. There isn't."

Catholicism does not consider pacifism a "premiere Christian stance," in Kelly's view. It is tolerable as an individual's conviction only if it is subject to the claims of the common good: "A mother can be a pacifist until her daughter is about to be raped." To turn the other cheek and bear evil are at best "counsels of perfection." Kelly has grave doubts about the Pax Christi-ites. They seem to him to be self-righteous elitists pretending to be the whole church and "better-Red-than-dead" enthusiasts advertising themselves by means of disproportionate media exposure as "the pure Christians."

Pax Christi USA perceives itself and its influence less grandly.

"In 1981, we made a strong case for a Pax Christi 'leader-bishop' to be on the bishops' committee," Jegen, the former national coordinator of the group, acknowledges. "Bishop Gumbleton has been our vehicle for getting our views to the committee."

Gumbleton insists that Pax Christi has no official role with the war and peace pastoral committee. "I don't know how to isolate Pax Christi's impact on the committee," Gumbleton says, "since the bishops engaged in such a wide public dialogue."

He contends that the U.S. bishops are "almost universally favorable to Pax Christi," but whatever clout the movement has may have more to do with its educational efforts. As a matter of routine, Pax Christi USA sends mailings to the U.S. bishops—everything from alerts on chemical weaponry to interpreta-

tions of the bilateral nuclear weapons freeze. Many bishops distribute Pax Christi educational materials in their dioceses.

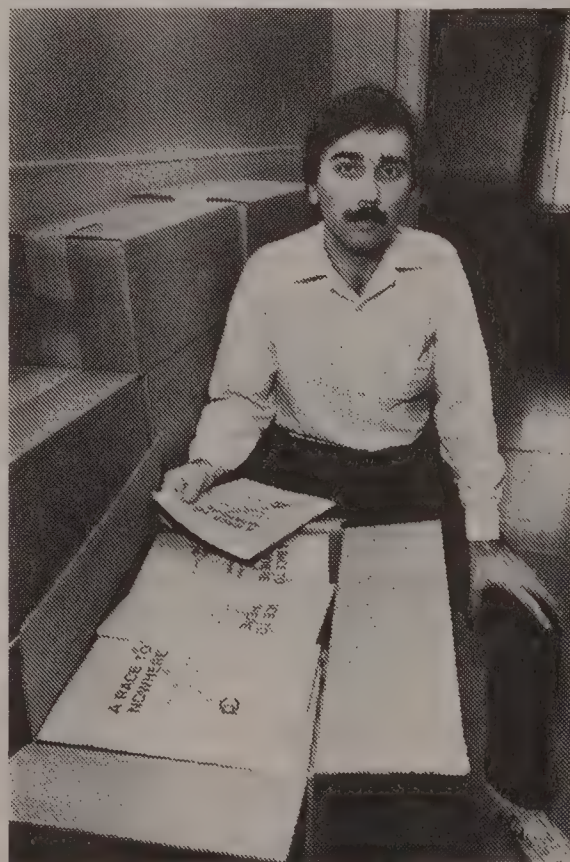
Much of what Professor Kelly labels "distortion," Jegen views as the ordinary development of doctrine inspired by God's Spirit. Catholics today, she feels, are seeing "love of enemies, which is pivotal to the message of Jesus, in a new light. Catholics are coming to learn that modern weapons do not express the Gospel." Jegen is certain that nuclear pacifism and total pacifism (in that order) are on an ascent as moral positions in the Catholic church: "Pacifism is moving from a marginal position to the mainstream."

This may be a watershed year for Pax Christi USA. After painful early years—Pax Christi actually collapsed in 1973—the group has experienced a renaissance since 1975. "We'll be doing more local organizing, reaching people in the pews," says Paul Mazur, new Pax Christi USA national coordinator.

An immediate concern will be education around the third draft of the bishops' pastoral letter, due in May. Jegen monitored a good deal of Pax Christi "distress" over the first draft. She is "heartened" by "improvements" in the second draft but she doesn't rule out the possibility that Pax Christi USA may have to take a "loving, loyal, minority position on an unimproved pastoral" that accepts the possession of nuclear weapons.

—James Bradley Burke

James Bradley Burke is a staff writer at The Chicago Catholic in Chicago.



Mazur: "Reaching people in the pews"

JEWISH ACTIVISM

Averting Nuclear Holocaust

After getting off to a slow start in the antinuclear movement, major Jewish organizations have taken swift steps toward making the threat of a nuclear holocaust central to Jewish concerns.

Often preoccupied with other issues and influenced by neoconservative ideas regarding defense, many of the established Jewish organizations, until recently, maintained a low profile on the antinuclear weapons front. But most Jewish groups "have started to feel that this issue is so important that we can't sit on the sidelines," says Rabbi David Saperstein, who heads the Religious Action Center of the reform Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

The major groups' slowness in adopting positions on the arms race—and in translating those stands into action—has been a product mainly of two things: pro-defense sentiment within the Jewish community, which opposes an immediate freeze; and the Jewish community's preoccupation with such concerns as Israel, Soviet Jewry, Jewish identity and intermarriage, in addition to social and economic issues. Representing the pro-defense orientation have been the influential *Commentary* magazine, the home base for neoconservatism, and the Washington, D.C.-based Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, which, according to its monthly newsletter, is "committed to explaining the link between U.S. national interests and Israel's security, and assessing what can and must be done to strengthen both."

But in recent months the major Jewish organizations have begun to speak out on the arms race. Boosting the Jewish antinuclear movement was the Council of Jewish Federations' resolution, passed at its annual meeting in Los Angeles, November 12, calling for an "immediate and verifiable world-wide freeze on the testing, production and development of all nuclear weapons." The CJF is an umbrella group for the more than 200 Jewish Federations of Philanthropy, which in turn represent 600 social service agencies across the country. Evoking the theme of the holocaust, which has become a major part of the Jewish dialogue on nuclear arms, the CJF declared, "Our history demonstrates that man is capable of perpetuating unspeakable acts on other men and further, that silence in the



Off the sidelines: "Silence in the face of inhumanity is equivalent to complicity"

face of inhumanity is equivalent to complicity."

Another major Jewish group, the American Jewish Congress, broke its silence in June when it described an immediate and mutual halt to the arms race as the most urgent issue facing the Jewish community and the nation. In addition to that, strongly-worded resolutions condemning nuclear proliferation have come from rabbinical groups representing the three branches of Judaism.

Besides these, there have been a proliferation of antinuclear resolutions passed recently in the Jewish community relations councils of such cities as Los Angeles, Baltimore and Washington. And conferences and seminars have been organized by groups working outside the Jewish establishment. Among these are the New Jewish Agenda and Jewish Peace Fellowship, both in New York, the Pasadena, California-based Interfaith Center For Reversing the Arms Race, and Rainbow Sign in Philadelphia, which gets its name from the rainbow that appeared after the flood—serving as God's message to mankind that the world should never again be destroyed. By flooding the major organizations, including the CJF, with petitions urging resolutions against the arms race, these groups have prodded the mainstream Jewish organizations toward adopting antinuclear positions.

Amid the antinuclear statements of the Jewish groups, some Jewish leaders have expressed their support for the Reagan Administration's defense policies. For instance, Harold Jacobs, president of the National Council of Young Israel, has warned Jewish organizations "not to allow themselves to become unwitting tools of communist propaganda."

But the recent resolutions show that most Jewish organizations have already started to recognize the importance of adopting and acting upon antinuclear weapons positions. Led by its outspoken president, Rabbi Alexander Schindler, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has launched the first major Jewish-sponsored campaign to stir resistance to the arms race involving education and action programs.

Although arriving late to the current antinuclear movement, pressure for arms control by major Jewish groups dates back to 1946, and the groups were among the leading critics of the development of the MIRV (multiple independently-targeted reentry vehicles) and ABM (anti-ballistic missile) nuclear systems during the 1960s. Now, Jewish ac-

tivists are telling audiences that Jews in particular have a stake in reversing the arms race, noting that a U.S.-Soviet nuclear exchange would wipe out major Jewish population centers and that world-wide nuclear proliferation has heightened the danger of a nuclear war involving Israel.

Attention is beginning to focus on the highly influential American Jewish Committee, made up of Jewish lay leaders, which is expected to adopt a statement on the freeze and other defense issues at its annual convention in May. A preliminary report by the AJC's Defense and Arms Limitation Committee says that only one-third of the committee members polled at a recent meeting favor an immediate freeze.

But with most of the organizations adopting antinuclear positions, the emerging question is whether the Jewish community will go one step further and make opposition to the arms race a key part of the Jewish action agenda. "I think the Jewish organizations have been behind their members on this," says Saperstein, noting that Jews are disproportionately represented in such disarmament organizations as Physicians for Social Responsibility and the Union of Concerned Scientists. Reflecting the view of other representatives of Jewish organizations, Saperstein predicts, "Within a year every organization that has passed a resolution will take action on it."

If that happens, the Jewish role in the new antinuclear movement should turn out to be as significant as was its presence in the liberal coalitions of the 1960s.

—William Bole

William Bole is the Washington, D.C. correspondent for the Religious News Service.

MILITANT CHRISTIANS

"Jail Is The New Monastery"

Our children can't depend on having a mother or father available to them," says Elizabeth McAlister, wife of Catholic activist Philip Berrigan, as she dandles their one-year-old daughter, Kathleen, on her knee. "One or both of us could be locked up at any point."

McAlister displays the fervor of the Sacred Heart nun she, in fact, used to be. "With nuclear weapons it's illusory to plan for the future," she explains, her voice deepening with emotion. "A bank account isn't real security. We place our faith in total insecurity, and abandon ourselves to the spirit of resistance."

As politicians' speeches and state ballot measures draw publicity to the esca-

lating arms race, McAlister and the dozen or so members of a Baltimore commune called Jonah House, founded in 1974, seek to stop it with their very bodies. In their most recent major action last November 2—Election Day—Jonah House mobilized over 200 people to blockade two entrances of the Pentagon. Defense department employees had to tread on or step over bodies as protesters asked them to "reflect" on the meaning of their work. There were 29 arrests. "In an age like this," says Jonah House member James Cunningham, a 41-year-old lawyer, "jail is the new monastery."

"Sacrifice" is a word that appears frequently in Jonah House newsletters and is evidenced by the actions of its mem-

American Friends Service Committee Disarmament Program, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102 (215) 241-7177.

The Quaker-affiliated AFSC, founded in 1917 as a counseling service for conscientious objectors during World War I, established a disarmament staff during the 1970s that is now active in all 35 AFSC offices around the country. The program organized the 1978 demonstration of 6000 at the Rocky Flats, Colorado, nuclear weapons plant. Their subsequent research on nuclear weapons facilities has made an important contribution to public education. In 1981 the AFSC helped coordinate demonstrations at 60 nuclear facilities. "The AFSC wants to expose the economic and environmental costs of nuclear weapons," says Pam Solo, national coordinator.

Clergy and Laity Concerned, 198 Broadway, New York, New York 10038 (212) 964-6730.

CALC is an interfaith network of 42 chapters and affiliated groups in 29 states. Founded in 1965 to mobilize opposition to U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia, CALC now has 30,000 members and supporters.

The group is now concentrating on the freeze and the March 7 and 8 lobbying effort in Washington, D.C. CALC opposes cruise and Pershing II missile deployment. The Friends of Comiso is a CALC group that supports the peace campers at the nuclear weapons deployment site in Sicily. CALC is now planning regional seminars on the missiles. CALC opposes nuclear proliferation in the Pacific with their Nuclear Free Pacific Project, and is currently organizing a group to oppose nuclear proliferation in South Africa.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, New York, 10960 (914) 358-4601. FOR was founded in England in 1914, when an English Quaker and a German Lutheran pastor pledged from within warring countries to work for peace. The FOR has 30,000 members in the United States, and 100,000 members worldwide in 26 countries.

FOR lobbies intensively for the freeze, publishes literature on peace and non-violence, and organizes demonstrations, vigils, and marches. FOR is now planning: a disarmament discussion center during the World Council of Churches' General Assembly this summer; U.S. representation at the major disarmament demonstration in Europe at Easter time; and, with the AFSC, demonstrations at nuclear weapons deployment sites, factories, and research facilities.

New Call to Peacemaking, Box 1245, Elkhart, Indiana 46515 (219) 294-7536.

The New Call was formed in 1976 by the Society of Friends, the Mennonites, and the Church of the Brethren—the traditional "peace churches." It is not an organization of individual members, but of many local and regional groups. They have held national conferences—in 1978, '80 and '82. At the 1978 conference the group adopted a pro-freeze platform. The group co-originated the New Abolitionist Covenant, a tract against nuclear weapons (which has been distributed to over 1 million people), publishes a national newsletter and is one of the sponsors of a major evangelical church conference to be held this May in Pasadena, California, endorsed by Billy Graham and Senator Mark Hatfield.

Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Drive, New York, New York, 10027 (212) 222-5900.

The Riverside Church is making the cause of disarmament an integral part of its church ministry. In May 1978, a full-time staff was hired to run the Disarmament Program, which campaigns for peace on a national basis.

The Riverside Program has developed a 15-week full-time college and seminary course on reversing the arms race, which is taught across the country. Riverside initiated the idea of the Peace Sabbath, an annual weekend when the religious leadership of the country is asked to preach on peace. The program holds seminars and provides speakers and slide shows to stimulate educational activities about peace across the country.

Sojourners Peace Ministry, 1309 L Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 636-3637.

Sojourners began as an evangelical magazine in 1970, and is now a community as well, comprised of 31 adults and five children. The Peace Ministry was formed in 1979, and has been actively working for the freeze. Each year they organize protests, with other peace groups, against the Air Force's annual convention and weapons exhibition in Washington, D.C. Holding vigils, distributing leaflets, posting billboards, and marching through Washington are some of their basic modes of protest.

The Peace Ministry is co-sponsoring the evangelical conference in Pasadena in May, and co-originated the New Abolitionist Covenant. The Ministry publishes numerous peace tracts, a study guide for churches on the nuclear arms race, and resource guides.

—Renata Rizzo

bers. In 1980, Jonah House led a year-long "presence" at the Pentagon. Each day, according to McAlister, groups of "housewives, Franciscan seminarians, religious women, people from all walks of life came to reflect, pray and educate others. Over half of them chose to risk arrest." The presence culminated on New Year's Eve, 1980, when 900 people encircled the building during a candle-light vigil. Forty were arrested.

The name of the commune is taken from the Old Testament, where the prophet Jonah is sent to warn the city of Ninevah to "repent or perish." That sense of urgency is shared by other Catholic activist groups, not formally associated with the Church, who place God's law over and against civil laws.

The Atlantic Life Community is an umbrella organization of many such groups and was started by members of Jonah House. Esther Cassidy, media coordinator for the Religious Task Force of Mobilization For Survival in New York, describes the ALC as a group of "loosely linked radical Christian groups mainly on the East Coast."

There are ALC chapters in Washington, D.C., Media, Pennsylvania, Boston, New York, and New Haven, Connecticut. Most of the chapters are located in the vicinity of protest sites. In New York the chapter focuses on the Riverside Research Institute, a military think tank that works on Trident missiles, the MX missile, and the neutron bomb. New Haven concentrates on the Trident submarine in Groton, Connecticut and Media targets the General Electric nuclear weapons plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania. On the West Coast the ALC has a counterpart in the Pacific Life Community, which also engages in non-violent direct actions.

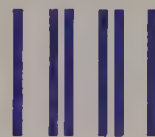
Drawing on the pacifist teachings of Dorothy Day, founder of the Catholic Workers Movement, the Los Angeles Worker House has maintained a "presence" at the corporate headquarters of Rockwell International in El Segundo outside Los Angeles. Since January 1981, over 150 protesters, who refrained from damaging property, have been arrested during the two-year, ongoing vigil on charges of malicious mischief and trespassing. One demonstrator recently began serving a six-month jail term.

In St. Petersburg, Florida, unintentional property damage during an act of civil disobedience on October 14, 1982, resulted in felony charges of aggravated assault and criminal mischief against three members of that city's Immanuel House. While protesting at the entrance of a General Electric plant, which manufactures the neutron device that triggers

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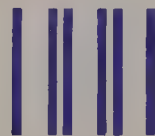
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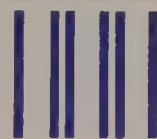


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This is no time for faint-hearted Pollyannas who are afraid to look our predicament straight in the eye, hoping it will go away. And it's no time for tired radicals and worn-out idealists who think they've seen it all and have decided that nothing works. But it is high time for all of us to start thinking and working together to extricate ourselves from this very real nightmare. People, not impersonal forces of history, got us into this fix—and enough of the right people can get us out.

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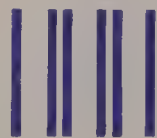
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David Cortright
Executive Director, SANE, Inc.
Washington, DC

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Director, Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies
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Roger Molander
Executive Director, Ground Zero
Washington, DC

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Dr. William Kincade
Director, Arms Control Association
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the hydrogen bomb, they hung a cable that two employees rammed with their cars. The accused face up to twelve years in prison and \$12,000 in fines.

Some Jonah House members take literally the Biblical injunction to beat swords into plowshares. Last July 5th, a group of protesters, including two members of Jonah House, broke into the shipyard of The Electric Boat Company in Groton, Connecticut, and poured their own blood down the hatches of a \$1.2 billion Trident nuclear submarine under construction and hammered on its sonar devices. A Connecticut judge has ordered the protesters, who call themselves the "Trident Nein," to pay \$11,093 for damages incurred. All of the Nein will go to jail rather than pay the damages.

Not surprisingly, some members are unable to endure such personal sacrifice and leave Jonah House. Unlike many communes of the 1960s, Jonah House consists mainly of adults over 35. Liz McAlister stresses that while younger people are welcome to stay for at least three months, "often they are too inexperienced to make the kind of commitment that Jonah House needs. They just haven't seen enough of life."

The premium on personal sacrifice, these activists agree, is only part of a broader commitment required of all. "It's an illusion to believe that you can embrace serious changes without risk," says McAlister. "Nuclear weapons protect the privileged lifestyle we enjoy." She notes that when people lobby against nuclear reactors, for instance, they should recognize that they are going to "have to give up their toasters . . . and more."

Every week Jonah House members take action against the poverty that surrounds them in Baltimore by picking up damaged and unsalable produce at wholesale food markets and distributing it to the needy. In St. Petersburg, Immanuel House feeds vagrants each Saturday. With only 27 members, the Los Angeles Worker House serves 800 to 1000 meals a day, and operates free legal and medical clinics. Worker House creates a few jobs as well as loaves in its "Justice Bakery." Liz McAlister of Jonah House notes, however, that much more hunger could be relieved by the \$600 million the Pentagon spends each day. "People accustomed to martinis and crabmeat for lunch," she laments, "decide about food stamps and nutrition."

Many of the activists dispute the effectiveness of the politically more mainstream antinuclear actions. Members of Immanuel House find the American Bishops' proposed pastoral letter "not strong enough," according to member Bea Moore. "We hope God," she says, "will intervene to make it stronger."



One of 150 arrests outside Rockwell headquarters in California: Life, or death?

Katherine Morris of the Los Angeles Worker House is "more impressed with the positions of certain priests—like Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen of Seattle [a noted tax-resister]—than with the pastoral letter."

"I believe that the freeze proposal is only a distraction because it encourages and promotes a dependence on, and faith in governments," declares Jonah House member Karl Smith. Rather than composing letters to politicians, Jonah House

members loudly heckled Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger during a Baltimore speech last May. They don't believe that polite gestures and ballot measures are viable means of stopping the arms buildup. "You gotta make a choice," says James Cunningham, speaking about whether or not to engage in militant protest. "If you don't, you're choosing death."

—Michael Hiestand and
Deirde Donahue

SOUTHERN BAPTISTS

Conservative Church Makes Peace

The call for a strengthened national defense, advocated by the Reverend Jerry Falwell and other fundamentalist leaders, may not be as widely accepted among conservative Christians as was once believed. The editors of the *Baptist Peacemaker*, a new publication that comes out of Louisville, Kentucky, have received a number of letters on this subject, including a recent message from a minister in Missouri. The pastor, who identified himself as a "conservative" (that is, fundamentalist) Baptist, wrote: "In my heart, I know what you are doing is right." He enclosed a check for \$25.

Although less visible than the efforts of the Catholic bishops and the National Council of Churches, there have been significant stirrings within the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC), the nation's largest Protestant denomination with 14 million members. It is especially striking that many Southern Baptists are now en-

gaged in the peace issue because the denomination is usually perceived as a bastion of conservatism.

The SBC formed in 1845 at the time of a split among Baptists over the issue of slavery. Many in the north were abolitionists; southern Baptists held that Christian missionaries could own slaves. For the first 100 years, the SBC remained largely a sectional denomination with strength in rural communities. Theologically, the denomination is characterized by a conservative stance that places a strong emphasis on the Bible and missionary activity. At the same time, the church structure has always encouraged diversity within the denomination. This diversity has increased in the years since World War II as the SBC has become a less sectional and more national community.

While many Protestant denominations are losing members, the SBC is growing each year. The SBC remains a very con-

servative body but a wide range of political and theological perspectives are visibly present today.

The growing consciousness about the urgency of peacemaking in the nuclear age among southern Baptists is due in large part to the efforts of a handful of Baptists in Kentucky. Two and a half years ago, peacemaking groups in two Louisville churches, Crescent Hill and Deer Park Baptist, organized a "Baptist Peace Convocation." This gathering was endorsed by President Carter, the Reverend Billy Graham, and a number of prominent leaders within the denomination. A new publication, the *Baptist Peacemaker*, came out of this conference.

The *Peacemaker* first appeared in the fall of 1980. Glenn Hinson, a professor at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, where the newspaper is based, and an editor of the paper, recalls that the initial issue was sent to about 4000 people. Two years later, he notes, over 35,000 people are receiving the *Peacemaker*. Requests for the 12-page quarterly tabloid continue to come in at a rate of 1000 a month. The *Baptist Peacemaker* (c/o Deer Park Baptist Church, 1733 Bardstown Road, Louisville, KY 40205) is available upon request.

Hinson feels that a key to the success of the *Peacemaker* is its "low-key" approach. "From the outset," he explains, "we did not want to appear too strident since that sort of posture could alienate many of the people who are potentially concerned about peacemaking."

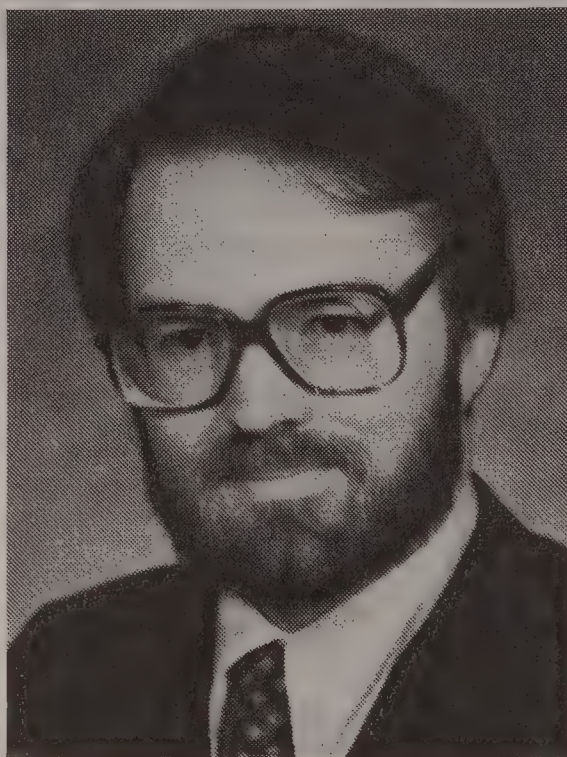
Glen Stassen, son of perennial Republican presidential candidate Harold Stassen, and co-founder of the *Peacemaker*, is encouraged by the response to the newspaper. "It is clear," he says, "that there were thousands and thousands of Baptists who were missing this kind of voice and who now feel a sense of hope."

Some conservative church members, of course, feel that the *Peacemaker* is coming out of leftfield. Frank Simon, state secretary of the Moral Majority in Kentucky, says that, next to independent Baptists, Southern Baptists make up the biggest portion of his organization. Simon, who lives in Louisville, calls the local seminary and Deer Park church the "radical elements" of the SBC. "They don't believe in the Bible there," Simon says. "They're liberal in everything. They're not really Southern Baptists—Southern Baptists believe in a strong defense, not unilateral disarmament."

While acknowledging that the *Peacemaker* probably reflects a minority opinion among Baptists—its circulation is small in relation to the huge membership of the denomination—both Hinson and

Stassen have been pleasantly surprised by the absence of organized opposition from supporters of the Moral Majority. The *Peacemaker*, unlike the debate in the church over the literal interpretation of the Bible, does not appear to be polarizing conservative and moderate Baptists. The threat of nuclear war seems to be more compelling than inherent suspicion of the peace movement or easy ac-

Baptist Peacemaker



Timothy George: "radical element?"

ceptance of defense rhetoric.

The *Peacemaker* includes feature articles, news items, sermons, prayers and suggestions for worship services. Recent issues have featured articles on the Moral Majority and the European peace movement, stories written by Senator Mark Hatfield and Billy Graham, and the transcript of Pope John Paul II's address at Hiroshima.

The *Peacemaker*, however, is more than a newspaper. In August of 1982, a second "Strategies for Peacemaking" convocation was held in Louisville. Over 300 Baptists from around the country participated in the three-day conference.

Through the newspaper and the two national conferences, the *Baptist Peacemaker* is serving to coordinate many of the current peace efforts among Southern Baptists. There is talk of starting a "quick-line" telephone network to lobby members of Congress. One emphasis in 1983, according to Timothy George, another Southern Seminary faculty member and the acting editor of the *Peacemaker*, is the national Peace Sabbath

Weekend in May. Already, Baptist State Conventions in Florida, New York, Michigan, Kentucky and Virginia have designated the final Sunday in May a "Peace Sunday."

Another Southern Baptist publication dealing with peace issues is *Seeds*, which began in 1977 as a newsletter originating in Oakhurst Baptist Church in Decatur, Georgia. It has become a highly regarded publication reaching well beyond the Baptist constituency. In the fall of 1982, *Seeds* was awarded the World Hunger Media Award for the best periodical coverage of world hunger issues. (*The New York Times* won the award in the newspaper category.) Two recent issues of *Seeds* have focused on the connections between the arms race, militarism and world hunger. "If we wish to be peacemakers," says Andy Loving, editor of *Seeds*, "we must seek out the causes of famine and injustice and attempt to find new ways to establish our priorities as people of faith."

According to Stassen, *Seeds* provided the model for the *Baptist Peacemaker*. Both publications grew out of concerned groups within local churches; both seek to encourage other churches to establish peacemaking and world hunger groups.

In addition to these efforts, The Christian Life Commission, the social action agency in the SBC, is becoming increasingly active on peace issues. Dr. Foy Valentine, the executive director of the agency, recently wrote in support of the Catholic bishops.

In 1982, Dr. Ronald Sisk, a former ethics student of Stassen's, joined the national staff of the Christian Life Commission, the first denominational appointment to work explicitly on peace issues. Sisk, who is currently preparing a "Peace with Justice Study Guide for Churches," reports that seven Baptist State Conventions passed peace resolutions in 1982.

Although Southern Baptists are not always united in their understanding of what faith requires in particular situations, many do appear to be growing in their awareness of the relevance of faith to nuclear policy. It is probably too early to gauge the impact of the *Baptist Peacemaker*, *Seeds*, and the Christian Life Commission on the Southern Baptist Convention. At the very least, it is clear that they are playing a major role in the area of peace education by raising the level of informed discussion among Christians who comprise the largest and one of the most conservative Protestant denominations in the United States.

—Charles A. Kimball

Charles A. Kimball, an ordained Southern Baptist minister, is Interfaith Director at the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Round-Up

Sirens Set Off "Die-Ins"

■ When the civil defense sirens sounded in St. Paul, Minnesota, on January 3, about 30 people from Friends for a Non-violent World and the Northern Sun Alliance fell to the ground inside the state capitol's rotunda and lay still for 10 minutes. During the "die-in," leaflets were distributed explaining that if the alert had been real, everyone in the vicinity would have been vaporized. This was only a few hours before the newly-elected governor, Rudy Perpich, was about to give his state of the state speech from the capitol.

This particular action is one in a series of die-ins scheduled to coincide with the monthly statewide testing of civil defense sirens in Minnesota. (Every first Wednesday of the month, the state's civil defense planners set off the sirens.) During the December test, 40 members of Friends for a Nonviolent World lay down in downtown Minneapolis, blocking the paths of busy Christmas shoppers.

These die-ins, in turn, are just one in a series of good-humored actions conducted by Minnesota antinuclear groups. Last October during a mock evacuation held by three of the groups, 50 "nuclear refugees" fled St. Paul and drove to the official host community of Northfield, 45 miles away. (A town of 12,000, Northfield, according to the Federal Emergency Management Agency, will have to house 200,000 refugees in the event of a nuclear attack.) Once there, the refugees, some with Geiger counters and bloodied bandages, went door to door asking for shelter. Residents eagerly signed petitions criticizing the evacuation plan. In December Northfield's city council voted to formally withdraw as a host community.

—Shelley Anderson

Freeze Campaign Plans Lobby Days For March

■ Several thousand freeze organizers and supporters are scheduled to arrive in Washington, D.C., on March 7 and 8, to participate in freeze lobby days, which have been timed to occur shortly before the House is expected to vote on the freeze resolution.

The goal was originally to have 10 people from each of the 435 congressional districts go to Washington to lobby for the freeze. "A lot of the districts won't make 10," says Chaplain Morrison of the

Washington office of the freeze campaign. "But others will send more."

On March 7, organizers will attend two training seminars—one given by arms experts on technical issues, and the other, led by experienced lobbyists, on how to develop an effective local lobbying network. The following day organizers and supporters will caucus in the morning, receive a briefing from lobbyists and arms experts, attend a noontime rally at the Capitol, and then visit their Congressional representatives.

Freeze proponents speaking at the rally will include Senators Edward Kennedy and Mark Hatfield and Representative Edward Markey, among others, according to Morrison.

Hibakusha Back Radiation Research Bill

■ For the past decade, the Committee of Atomic Bomb Survivors has tried without success to push through Congress a bill that would pay for medical costs incurred by American *hibakusha*—survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings. (Over 4800 Japanese American citizens were visiting Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the time of the nuclear attacks.) Now, the Committee, based in Alameda, California, and the Japanese American Citizens League, based in San Francisco, are trying again from another direction, says Committee president Kanji Kuramoto.

Along with introducing the perennial bill, the two groups plan to introduce a second measure that calls for federally-funded research on the effects of atomic blasts on survivors. Kuramoto says that this bill stands a better chance of passage, since its primary intent is to encourage research. But, he adds, medical examinations and some form of treatment would be part of the research.

"In Japan *hibakusha* are getting complete examinations and medical care provided by the government," Kuramoto notes. "But the U.S. Defense Department doesn't want any precedent set for treating and compensating war victims."

—Shirley Kwan

Ranchers Ride For Peace

■ With arms control negotiations stalled, five ranchers from the western United States decided to talk to the Russians themselves. Their two-week personal peace mission to the Soviet Union, which concluded at the end of December, didn't bring immediate results. But, says Colorado rancher Doris Williams, "our trip has been a large step in the right direction."

The ranchers, who call themselves "Ranchers for Peace," come from Utah, South Dakota, Wyoming, Colorado and Montana, where they have led local opposition to the MX missile. They met with Soviet officials, citizens, and two members of the Group To Establish Trust Between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., a citizens disarmament group. The Soviet media gave the Americans considerable attention. They were interviewed by the government-run *Izvestia* newspaper, Radio Moscow, national television, and local press.

"We went out of our way to talk to people," says John McNamer, who spearheaded Montana's referendum opposing the MX, which received 57 percent of the vote last November. "We attracted quite a bit of attention wearing our cowboy hats, and people approached us pretty freely," says McNamer. Nearly every person they met, notes Marvin Kammerer from South Dakota, had lost a relative during World War II.

Clearly, the ranchers' faith in official diplomacy is limited. "My message to the Soviet people," says McNamer, "was that it's time we got these governments off the stick and got them moving and working for peace. I was surprised but there seemed to be quite a lot of agreement on that with people over there."

—Susan Jaffe

CALC Protesters Arrested

■ On the morning of December 28, four members of St. Louis Clergy and Laity Concerned arrived at the executive offices of General Dynamic—the largest military contractor in the United States and a prime contractor for the Trident submarine. They sat down in front of the door to the office, located on the 23rd floor of the Pierre Laclede Center in Clayton, Missouri, just outside St. Louis, read from the Bible and prayed. Outside about 40 people rallied in support.

"We pretty much caught General Dynamics by surprise," says Michael McIntyre, one of the four demonstrators.

All four were arrested, escorted out of the building by police and charged with first degree trespassing, a misdemeanor that carries a maximum sentence of one year. The protesters were arraigned January 19. Prior to the arraignment, they said they would plead not guilty.

The protest, says McIntyre, marked the traditional anniversary of the Slaughter of the Holy Innocents, Herod's massacre of all the males two-years-old and younger in Bethlehem. "The point we're making," says McIntyre, "is that there is a much larger slaughter of innocents in preparation, and General Dynamics is where it is being prepared." □

On The Trail Of Rees's Pieces

Early last December, a few days before the House Intelligence Committee released the transcript of its classified hearings on Soviet "active measures," an article by John Rees about Communist infiltration of the peace movement appeared in *The Review of the News*, the John Birch Society's weekly magazine. Rees, as readers of this column will recall, is the editor of *Information Digest* and the author of *The War Called Peace*, the red-baiting primer that was the source of many of the accusations hurled against the antinuclear weapons movement last year by right-wing journalists and politicians.

In his *Review of the News* article, Rees lashed out at what he described as a "campaign of calumny, distortion, and slander" orchestrated by "friends of the Reds" against the so-called "responsible press" (i.e., *Reader's Digest*, *The American Spectator*, *National Review*, and other publications that have relied heavily on Rees's reporting). In particular, he launched a retaliatory strike against Frank Donner, author of a lengthy piece that appeared in *The Nation* in November analyzing the efforts by Rees and others to smear the nuclear freeze movement.

Much of Rees's article is a reworking of his earlier pieces, in which he sought to demonstrate that the Soviet Union, acting through such "front groups" as the World Peace Council and its local affiliate, the U.S. Peace Council, has thoroughly penetrated and manipulated the antinuclear weapons movement. While these groups would no doubt like to think they have played a significant role in the freeze campaign, Rees falls into the trap of believing the very propaganda he sets out to warn us against. His article is full of quotes by Communist Party officials ordering their cadre to go all-out for the June 12 disarmament rally ("Begin now to reserve buses to New York," goes one of the more insidious ones)—just the sort of stuff that makes John Birchers look under their seats.

A much more sober view of Soviet attempts to manipulate the American peace movement emerged from the House Intelligence Committee the same

week that Rees's article appeared. And it came, surprisingly enough, from the FBI. Included in the record of a hearing conducted last summer, and just declassified by the committee, was this statement by Edward O'Malley, the bureau's assistant director for intelligence: "We do not see Soviet active measures in the United States as having a significant impact on U.S. decision-makers. Two of the primary instruments the Soviets use . . . the CPUSA [Communist Party USA], and international communist front organizations, are well known for their adherence to Soviet dictates. The CPUSA is a small organization outside the mainstream of American political life and does not receive much electoral or political support. . . . In addition, the American media is sophisticated and generally recognizes Soviet influence attempts."

Committee Chairman Edward Boland said in a statement accompanying the release of the 337-page report: "The bottom line is that the hearings provide no evidence that the Soviets direct, manage, or manipulate the nuclear freeze movement."

Since Rees had gone out on a limb at the end of his *Review of the News* article to predict that the intelligence committee would never issue a clean bill of health to the peace movement—"considering the overwhelming volume of contrary evidence," he wrote—I thought it only fair to ask him what had happened.

I reached Rees at his office at the Western Goals Foundation in Alexandria, Virginia. The foundation, whose guiding light is the arch-conservative Georgia Congressman Larry McDonald last year published Rees's booklet, *The War Called Peace*. It also puts out *Western Goals Report*, which Rees edits.

"Boland hadn't read his own hearing," the 54-year-old Rees said in a disarmingly cheery British accent.

"That's your conclusion."

"No, that's the conclusion of anyone who reads the report objectively. It documents that the CPUSA received funds directly in cash by courier from the Soviet Union . . ."

"Specifically for peace-movement activities?"

"Well, that wasn't said. But . . ."

"But what about O'Malley's testimony that the impact of Soviet active measures in this country has been minimal. Surely, the FBI . . ."

"It was more qualified than that."

I could see I wasn't getting anywhere with this line of questioning. In Rees's looking glass world, things evidently meant their opposite. The word "peace," for example, was a Soviet euphemism for war—for the conquest of the United States by unilateral disarmament. Given such a fundamental distrust of Soviet semantics, any negotiations with the enemy would be inherently futile.

Rees likes to describe himself as a "first-generation collector" of information. In the early 1970s he went so far as to open an ostensibly left-wing bookstore in Washington called The Red House in order to gather information about the anti-war movement ("nothing contradictory with normal journalistic practices," he chuckles). Today he claims that he has "friends in the movement." Since his information has a way of eventually coming out of the mouths of others (such as President Reagan) in due course, I thought it was appropriate to ask Rees what the future holds. Would the Soviet Union, for example, be likely to instigate acts of civil disobedience in the United States?

"Confrontational politics is sometimes necessary," Rees replied. "If you have a splinter group that wants to go for civil disobedience, I think that would be in the overall interest of the Soviet Union because such demonstrations always attract media attention and that, in turn, is able to create an atmosphere of fear which the peace movement can very usefully use. . . . If you ask the question, 'who benefits?' from each particular action, you might decide on that basis where it was generated."

"I think there will be a tremendous escalation of activity in the political campaigns for 1984," he continued. "The anti-nuclear people will obviously try to influence the Presidential race . . ."

"Are you suggesting that any candidate who supports a freeze would be working in the Soviet Union's interests?"

Here, he paused a moment to consider his response. "I can't see any alternative but to say that's correct." □

Marcos Tightens Grip On Bases

The Pacific region has provided the U.S. military with sites for nuclear testing and bases for both nuclear and conventional forces. But antinuclear sentiment in the area is on the rise and may threaten the virtual U.S. nuclear monopoly in the Pacific.

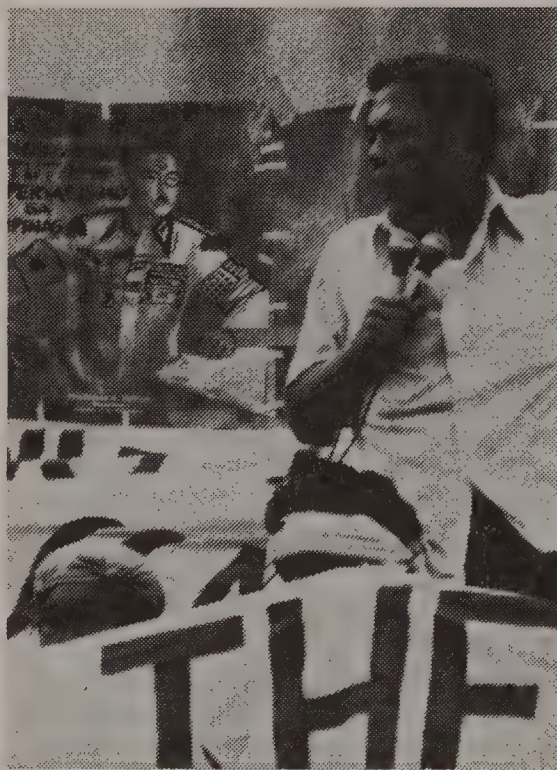
Many of the organizations involved in the growing nuclear-free Pacific movement will meet in July at a conference in Vanuatu, 1200 miles east of Australia, to map future objectives. They will discuss plans for an October conference in Manila, the Philippines, where antinuclear organizing has been growing despite the authoritarian rule of President Ferdinand Marcos.

The Philippines has one of the largest concentrations of U.S. nuclear weapons in the Pacific. U.S. military facilities there include the large Subic Bay naval base, where such nuclear-armed vessels as the aircraft carrier *Midway* and Polaris submarines are sheltered, and Clark Air Force Base, where nuclear-capable F4E fighters are based.

Spearheading the Filipino antinuclear movement is the Nuclear Free Philippines Coalition. One of the principle goals of the group is "the removal of U.S. bases from the country because of their insult to our sovereignty and the presence of nuclear weapons there," explains Father Leonardo "Nards" Pahamtang, an energetic young priest who is the coordinator and one of the founders of the NFPC. Father Nards says that the NFPC is concerned about Soviet weaponry "but as of now," he adds, "we see the number one enemy of the Filipinos as the Americans." (It is generally believed that the Soviet nuclear presence in the area is nowhere near as strong as that of the United States.)

There are, however, deep-rooted obstacles to the removal of the American bases. "There is a Filipino feeling that the Americans are the saviors of the Philippines," says Father Nards. "We find this image a difficult one to destroy because the Filipinos feel the bases are here to protect them."

Critics note that the Clark and Subic bases, both on the island of Luzon, exist not only to protect U.S. strategic inter-



Filipino antinuclear leader Jose Diokno

ests in the region but also to serve as rear supply and support areas for possible incursions by the Seventh Fleet into the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. "These bases are a risk for our people," says former Senator Lorenzo Tañada, the vibrant 84-year-old chairman of the NFPC. "They violate our national sovereignty and besides, the Philippines have no external enemies."

Tañada, who has campaigned against the bases since the 1951 renegotiation of the original Military Base Agreement of 1947, explains that the Philippine people could get caught up in a nuclear confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union due to the presence of nuclear weapons at Clark and Subic. "Why," he asks, "should our people be made to suffer in a war that is not of our making?" Tañada was instrumental recently in maneuvering one of the major Philippine opposition parties into taking a stand against the bases as a major plank in their platform.

The imposition of martial law in the Philippines in September 1972, closed most avenues for public discussion of political issues. The press was tightly circumscribed, the electronic media came under government control and most public forums were outlawed. Following the

nominal lifting of martial law in January 1981, public forums were once again allowed, but the government maintained the strictures on the press and media. Marcos, who has ruled the island nation of 50 million since 1966, continues in power with the same authority he held under martial law.

Protests are not easy to arrange. Last August 6, the anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing, a small group of nuns, students, and others gathered in furtive clusters adjacent to the large U.S. embassy complex along Manila Bay. At a planned, and apparently, silent signal, the protesters unfurled banners, passed out leaflets, and chanted "Ibagsak ang U.S. bases!" (Down with U.S. bases!).

This rally, organized by the NFPC, went without incident. The organizers, denied a permit, assembled peacefully and the police, armed with body-length steel riot shields and yard-long clubs, chose to allow them to proceed, rather than risk a confrontation in front of the foreign press corps and the U.S. diplomats peering down at the hundred or so protesters from their offices. But without domestic media coverage, the NFPC finds it hard to promote its cause.

The initial impetus for the NFPC came as a result of organizing begun by Catholic sisters in Morong, Bataan, about 100 kilometers from Manila and near the U.S. naval base at Subic Bay. A controversial nuclear plant, under a Westinghouse license, had raised fears beginning in 1978 because it is being built on a fault line adjacent to an active volcano. Overruns have pushed the cost of the facility past the two billion dollar mark. Despite the environmental factors and the exposure of a Westinghouse kickback scheme in 1979, the plant is still under construction. During his September 1982 visit to the United States, Marcos received a \$204.5 million loan guarantee for the project from the Reagan administration.

But more than finance is involved. "We see a connection between the nuclear plant and the military bases," says Father Nards. "We fear that the plutonium by-product of the plant will be used for the production of nuclear weapons."

As Philippine political life polarizes un-

der the stress of ten years of authoritarian rule, NFPC organizers are hopeful that the movement will continue to expand. They claim a membership of 82 organizations ranging from environmental and consumer groups to left-leaning student assemblies. In addition to preparing for the July conference in Vanuatu, NFPC plans include hosting a trip by Dr. Jonathan Fine of the Physicians for Social Responsibility. NFPC, in cooperation with the fledgling Campaign against U.S. Intervention in the Philippines, based in New York, also plans to sponsor a trip to the United States by former Filipino senator Jose Diokno to speak about Filipino objections to the bases.

NFPC and its allies face strong opposition to removal of the bases. The first Bases Agreement between the United States and Manila in 1951 was updated in 1979 with a five-year pact guaranteeing the Marcos government \$500 million in military and economic aid as rental for the bases. That agreement is up for renewal this year, and Marcos has reportedly asked for a four-fold increase in the treaty. It is unclear whether he will get that amount but the Reagan administration did agree, during the state visit last September, to begin negotiations for a new pact in April. The financially-pressed regime, burdened by a \$16 billion external debt, badly needs the helping hand the U.S. aid provides.

With the Seventh Fleet operating out of Subic, and nuclear capable F4E fighter planes winging their way out of Clark, it is unlikely that U.S. planners will relinquish their hold on the facilities. A State Department official in charge of U.S.-Philippine relations recently confirmed that due to Soviet presence in Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam, and continuing Indian Ocean tensions, no plans were being made to reevaluate the role of the bases in U.S. strategic planning. "As long as this present generation remains in power," said the official, "we won't have to do anything further to stay in the Philippines."

While the NFPC can do little in its public program to openly call for the installation of a new generation of leaders, its organizers clearly feel the implications of such State Department analysis. Tañada, the NFPC chairman, was careful to say that he is "not anti-imperialist—I am a nationalist." But with Marcos in power, he added, "there is little we can do. We have to change the leadership of the country."

—A. Linn Neumann

A. Linn Neumann is a New York-based writer who has written extensively on the Philippines and other Third World issues.

ENGLAND

Greenham Women Thwart Thatcher

The recent expression throughout Britain of vocal support for unilateral nuclear disarmament, sparked by the protests and arrests at Greenham Common, has provoked a rapid deployment of top Conservative Party (Tory) forces under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's personal command. Thatcher, reportedly rattled by signs that her own voters are opposing her on the nuclear issue, is drafting Cabinet ministers into a campaign to stress the need for multilateral disarmament involving the Soviet Union. Her aim is to regain the initiative well before the general election, which could be called as early as June.

The opposition Labor Party voted overwhelmingly last September to make unilateralism part of its platform.

Signs of dissent within Thatcher's constituency include the launching last month of Tories Against Cruise and Trident by Sue Coslett, a 25-year-old Thatcherite who joined the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) two years ago. Coslett believes the Prime Minister has been ill-advised on the nuclear issue and quotes a recent poll in which a significant number of Tories were shown to oppose cruise and Trident missile deployment.

What has brought about this national preoccupation with the world's nuclear armory? Sixteen months ago, women, mostly from coal-mining towns in South Wales, left Cardiff and walked 125 miles to the Greenham Common Royal Air Force Base in Berkshire, about 50 miles west of London, where the first consignment of 96 American cruise missiles is due to be delivered by the end of this year. They squatted outside the main gate and, without histrionics, declared their intention to stay until the deployment decision was reversed. What became known as the Women's Peace Camp was ignored by the press for a year, though nearby Newbury's Conservative Council made life as uncomfortable as possible for its inhabitants, who have endured harassment, eviction orders, and a ban on the erection of even the most elementary shelters. They continued, nonetheless, to welcome the thousands of

women who have visited the camp. At the end of November, the camp became a national issue overnight when 23 of the women were imprisoned for two weeks. Front page stories on their release touched a responsive nerve in women throughout the country.

The women returned to their muddy, open-air squalor at Greenham to continue their vigil on their own terms, politely refusing all offers from organizations, including CND, to sponsor them. By word of mouth they spread an invitation to women to join them ("6000 if possible") over the weekend of December 12 to mark the third anniversary of the decision by several NATO countries to install cruise missiles. On Sunday they would link arms and surround the 10-mile perimeter fence, while men who came would be asked to organize child care and serve food. On a bleak, freezing wet day, 30,000 responded and Britain's peace movement was rejuvenated.

Several political and religious leaders have shown strong support for the protesters. On Christmas Day, Michael Foot, leader of the Labor party, visited the campers to pledge his support for their actions. In his Christmas sermon, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Robert Runcie, entered the nuclear debate and sparked Tory criticism by remarking: "Some of our best minds, and a large proportion of our precious resources, are employed in preparing for the lunatic unthinkable."

The Greenham women continue to be more than an irritant to the Prime Minister. On New Year's Day, 44 of them scaled the air base fence and danced and sang on top of a nuclear bomb storage silo for over an hour before police removed them. The exercise was intended to draw attention to the fact that construction work on the silos had been sped up. Their cases will be heard on Valentine's Day.

Despite the campers' rejection of CND sponsorship, civil disobedience actions such as those carried out at Greenham Common are now being viewed as the primary form of resistance to deployment during the crucial upcoming year by CND and other major disarmament groups. The hope is that non-violent, direct actions will be more effective than the demonstrations of previous years.

Meanwhile the women at Greenham promise to maintain their vigil, an inspiring combination of the struggles for women's emancipation and nuclear disarmament that may, ironically, help to unseat the country's first woman prime minister.

—Celia Curtis

Celia Curtis is a London-based freelance writer.

Can America Survive Trident II?

If 10 randomly-selected opponents of the arms race were asked to name the most destabilizing weapon, probably seven would choose the MX, two would pick the Pershing II, and one might name the cruise missile. Asked the same question, 10 hawks would probably all name the Soviet SS-18 and SS-19 ICBMs.

All would be mistaken. The Trident II missile, now under development and planned for deployment in 1989, will be more destabilizing than any of these weapons, singly or in combination.

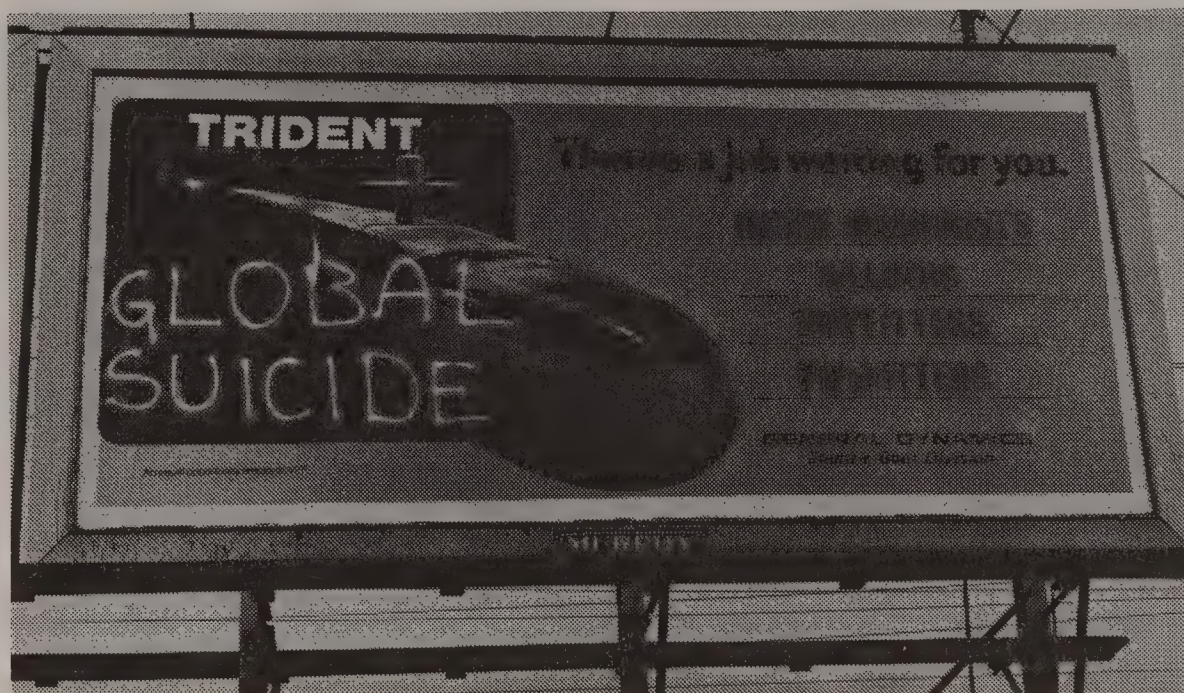
The Trident I and Trident II missiles are as different as a lightning-bug and lightning. Aside from their names, they share only three major characteristics: They are modern, multiple-warhead SLBMs (submarine launched ballistic missiles); they are made by Lockheed; and their range is from 4000 to about 6300 nautical miles, depending on payload. Here the similarities end.

The Trident I is as stabilizing as it is possible for a strategic nuclear weapon to be; the Trident II is the most destabilizing weapon yet devised.

This is due primarily to the difference in accuracy. The Trident I's quarter-mile accuracy is sufficient for a retaliatory strike against almost any economic or industrial target, but it's essentially useless against a hardened missile silo, and cannot be upgraded to silo-destroying accuracy without radical redesign. The accuracy of the Trident II (also known as the "D-5" missile), on the other hand, is only slightly less than that of the MX (well under one-tenth of a mile), and is sufficient for "high kill" probability against the hardest silo.

There is also a significant difference in payload. The Trident I, now being deployed in both Poseidon and Trident submarines, carries eight 100-kiloton warheads. The Trident II, which is too large to be carried on any ship but the Trident, carries nearly twice the payload of the Trident I: either 14 100-kiloton warheads or nine 330-kiloton warheads. The latter are necessary for use against hardened silos at the 4000-6300 mile range.

Thomas J. Downey is a Democratic congressman from New York.



Why Trident II is destabilizing

A destabilizing weapon increases the probability of strategic nuclear war by threatening to prevent the other side from retaliating. Thus, it gives its owner an incentive to use it in a crisis, and leaves its intended victim no option but to beat it to the punch.

The perfect destabilizing first-strike weapon, which would simultaneously destroy a victim's submarines, bombers, and ICBMs, has not been devised—although no doubt there are people on both sides working on this problem. Nevertheless, any weapon that could—in the hands of either side—disable two of the victim's three retaliatory arms, would take the world a significant step closer to nuclear annihilation.

A disarming first strike against ICBMs and bombers requires the ability to deliver large numbers of accurate warheads with short warning. Let us consider why:

Numbers: A little over a thousand warheads are needed for a one-on-one attack against the Soviet MIRV ICBM silos and a reasonably effective attack against their bomber bases. For an "ideal" first strike—one using two warheads against each of the 1300 Soviet silos and a heavy attack against all bomber bases—a little over 3000 warheads is required.

Accuracy is necessary to destroy hardened ICBM silos.

Short warning is essential. A strike against silos cannot allow more than 20 to 25 minutes' warning, or a national leader would have time to order the launching of ICBMs before the attack arrives. A counter-bomber attack cannot allow more than 7 to 11 minutes, or "strip-alert" (fueled, armed and ready to take off) bombers will be launched safely from their bases. The Soviets presently maintain no strip alert, but this can change.

Applying these yardsticks, we find that:

- The Trident I has no first-strike role because of its inaccuracy.

- The MX is accurate, but it allows 30 minutes' warning because it must fly all the way from the Central United States. Also, at the presently proposed level of 100 ten-warhead missiles, its numbers are marginal. Because of its flight-time, the MX is useless against bombers. Moreover, Edward L. Rowny, chief START negotiator, and others who believe it will put Soviet ICBMs at risk are talking fantasy. Knowing we have the MX, the Soviets will simply be sure they launch their ICBMs before we get there. Thus the MX is not, as its advocates suggest, a "damage-limiting" weapon. On the contrary, it *assures* damage to the U.S. population and industry in a nuclear exchange.

- Soviet SS-18 and SS-19 ICBMs carry more than 4000 warheads. But their accuracy is marginal, and like the MX they

are irrevocably tied to 30-minute flight times. Thus they are no threat to our bombers and only a marginal threat to our ICBMs.

● Cruise missiles are very accurate and will be deployed in large numbers, but they allow several hours' warning. I am sometimes asked how a cruise missile can hide itself well enough to penetrate defenses but not well enough to attack by surprise. The answer is: It is far easier to detect an approaching weapon on a now-I-see-it-now-I-don't basis than it is to track it well enough to destroy it. Also, an attack by a large number of cruise missiles makes penetration easier (by saturating defenses), but at the same time it makes surprise more difficult.

● The Pershing II, the Army tells us, is going to be accurate and quick. But only 108 single-warhead launchers are planned for deployment. While some are concerned about a "decapitating" strike in which the Pershing IIs would disable Soviet retaliation by destroying command-and-control centers, I believe this is overrated. It will not be difficult for the Soviets to build a command-and-control system that can survive 108 warheads—assuming any of them arrive on target, which is presently a subject of some debate.

● The Trident II is the Prince of Darkness, the only weapon that meets all requirements.

Accidents Happen

At full range, the Trident II missile doesn't seem that impressive. Its warning time is equivalent to that of the MX; its accuracy, and its number of 330-kiloton warheads per missile, are somewhat inferior to the MX.

But the Trident II has a first-strike option the MX lacks: *It can be launched from close off Soviet shores.* This gives it three first-strike advantages:

First, accuracy improves to the point that 100-kiloton warheads become lethal against missile silos. Thus, each Trident II missile can carry 14 silo-killing warheads to the MX's 10. Each Trident submarine carries 24 missiles, and Cap Weinberger is talking about building 20 submarines. Even with one out of three out of firing position at any given time, this provides nearly 4500 ready-to-fire warheads in all—enough for both a first-strike and a devastating follow-up strike against economic targets.

Second, warning time is reduced to perhaps 15 minutes—too short for the Soviet leader to launch his ICBMs once the fact of a U.S. attack has been established. Faced with such a pre-emptive threat against the ICBMs, which constitute more than 70 percent of their strate-

gic strength, the Soviets will have to eliminate their time-consuming safeguards against accidental or unauthorized war. There will be no time for civilian approval of a nuclear response—possibly no time for any kind of human approval. Most probably, the Russians will have to give a computer the authority to launch ICBMs—which cannot be recalled—whenever it thinks it perceives a U.S. attack.

This is not idle speculation on my part; Soviet leaders have, in response to the Reagan strategic program, begun openly and explicitly to discuss their need for "launch-on-warning." It is not easy to turn initiation of nuclear war into our adversary's best option, but the Trident II will very nearly do the job, particularly if we consider its third first-strike attribute:

With its large excess thrust at short range, it could be modified to fly a low trajectory, which would cut flight time—and warning time—nearly in half, enabling the missile to destroy strip-alert bombers and tankers before they could escape their bases. The basic Trident II design does not include the special tolerance for heat and acceleration needed for a low trajectory flight. But this could be added on. It is difficult to make an accurate low-trajectory missile, but this is unnecessary, since destruction of bombers, which are quite fragile, does not require high accuracy. A first-strike configured Trident ship would carry a mix of low-trajectory, low-accuracy Trident IIs for an attack on bombers, and normal-trajectory Trident IIs for counter-silo use. The low-trajectory missiles would be launched first, immediately followed by the accurate missiles.

The Trident II is thus the penultimate weapon of the apocalypse, lacking only anti-submarine capability (which could ultimately be supplied by a different weapon). The Soviet equivalent to Trident II would presumably follow it within half a decade.

The "Zero" Option

What can be done about the Trident II? Here are some possibilities:

● Zero the program: My amendment to do this lost badly in the House last year, 89-312. But early amendments to stop the MX didn't do much better, and it's possible that in the coming years anti-Trident II legislation will pass. I will offer the Trident II amendment again this year.

At this point it appears that the Trident II's legislative future is intertwined with that of the MX. Many doves who should know better support the Trident II to balance their opposition to the B-1

and the MX. If the MX is killed, it will be very difficult to kill the only remaining new strategic ballistic missile program. On the other hand, if the MX survives, lawmakers will feel more comfortable voting against Trident II, particularly in light of its high cost (\$21 billion for 20 shiploads).

● Restriction to long range: If Congress were to prohibit Trident II testing at less than 4000 nautical miles, its unique first-strike features could not be realized. Navy missile experts tell me this approach is technically feasible, and would lower confidence in first-strike short-range capability while not interfering with the long-range retaliatory mission. Whether it is politically feasible remains to be seen.

● Arms control in the SALT II pattern could prohibit testing and deployment of the Trident II and its Soviet equivalent. The problem is that the Soviets insist that their SSN-X-20 Typhoon, which is physically larger than Trident II (although presently not a silo-killer), isn't a fair tradeoff since it's farther along than the Trident II and is already being tested. Yes, Virginia, there are Ronald Reagans in the Kremlin.

On the other hand, a negotiated range minimum on new SLBMs, including the Typhoon, might well be possible, and a low-trajectory prohibition has already been discussed at SALT II and is definitely feasible—provided the American people give the world an Administration interested in serious arms control.

START, of course, is not serious arms control and does nothing about the problem.

● The crisis stabilizing plan, proposed by Representative Albert Gore, would prohibit production and deployment of new types of SLBMs. But since it would allow them to be tested, an uncomfortable potential for transfer of accuracy technology down to older SLBMs remains.

● The nuclear freeze would prohibit further testing, production and deployment of all SLBMs, thus solving the problem completely and permanently.

The road ahead seems clear. Legislative solutions should be pursued, but at best they deal only with the U.S. side of the problem. It is equally important to keep hard-target SLBMs and depressed-trajectory SLBMs out of the hands of the Soviets. The real answer lies in arms control—particularly the nuclear freeze.

For this reason among many others, I firmly believe that all antinuclear-war efforts should focus on the election of a President and Congress committed to the freeze. This is the area in which the battle for survival will be lost or won. □

Behind French And British Lines

Arms control talks over nuclear missiles in Europe have gone, and very likely will continue to go, nowhere. Much of this, of course, is due to the policies of Ronald Reagan and his détente-wrecking crew. Part is due to the difficulties of verification posed by missiles that are relatively small and easily hidden, and airplanes that can be loaded with nuclear or conventional bombs. But part is also due to the positions taken by the Western European governments that would be affected by any such arms control agreement.

It has long been taken for granted, however uneasily, that once negotiations commenced over "theater nuclear forces," the Western European allies that possess their own nuclear arsenals would have to be included in the talks. From the USSR's point of view, after all, these weapons can destroy Soviet territory just as easily as American weapons.

The problem is that France and Great Britain have no interest in cutting their "independent" nuclear arsenals, or in having those missiles count in any U.S.-Soviet equations.

This point was reemphasized in early January, just after Soviet Premier Andropov proposed cutting Soviet SS-4, SS-5 and SS-20 intermediate-range missiles to the level of French and British missile forces (162 missiles) if the U.S. agreed not to deploy the ground-launched cruise missiles and Pershing IIs.

Andropov's proposal implied that the French and British nuclear forces were to be considered part of the U.S.-Soviet balance, and that any further arms reductions—such as toward the "zero option" that Reagan favors—would have to include reductions in these Allied forces as well.

The response of the French President, François Mitterand, was brisk: "We will not reduce by a single missile. . . . Thinking that France might cut back on the number of its missiles—that's not even worth dreaming." Mitterand stressed that the French were not a party to the talks in Geneva. France, he said, is not overarmed, but armed just enough; any cuts would make the French deterrent lose credibility.



DeGaulle feared a dense pack

The reactions of British Prime Minister Thatcher and her Foreign Secretary, Francis Pym, while not so Gallic, were equally negative. Pym ruled out the possibility that British nuclear weapons could be included as part of an arms reduction bargain with the Soviets.

Both the British and the French contend that their aging nuclear weapons are inferior to the new SS-20s. The 64 British weapons are all based on Polaris submarines; 80 of the 98 French missiles are placed on submarines. However, both Britain and France have plans to upgrade the capabilities of their nuclear forces, and the number of warheads, in the coming years.

The position of Britain and France is nothing new; it antedates the SS-20s by many years. Their attraction to nuclear arms—and adamant opposition to any agreement that calls for reductions in their arsenals—has a long tradition and a full-blown intellectual doctrine behind it.

It began in the early 1960s, when French President Charles de Gaulle, noting that the Soviets were starting to acquire a sizable nuclear arsenal, expressed doubts whether the United States would actually use nuclear weapons to defend Western Europe in case of Soviet invasion across the NATO border. If—as was called for in the NATO treaty—the United States responded to Soviet conventional attack by shooting nuclear weapons at the Soviet Union, the Soviets would fire back nuclear weapons at the United States. De Gaulle wondered: would an American President really sacrifice Chicago for Bonn, New

York for Paris? He thought not.

So, de Gaulle felt, France had to get out of NATO and provide for its own defense. He believed that a purely conventional defense would be useless. In order to meet a Warsaw Pact onslaught, the troops would have to concentrate. Under such circumstances, if the Kremlin saw its attack repelled, it would fire nuclear weapons at the nicely packed target that the troops comprised.

Therefore, the French believed (and still believe), the only thing to do is to deter the outbreak of war in the first place—and that means, to them, convincing the Soviets beyond doubt that the French, if no one else, would incinerate Russian cities with nuclear bombs if Soviet troops spilled over into Western Europe.

The British were less enthusiastic: They stayed in NATO and contributed to plans for improving conventional defenses. But they, too, consider their own nuclear force as something apart from NATO, as weapons of ultimate defense to protect their own sovereignty if allies refuse to go the full commitment route.

And, of course, economics plays a part in this doctrine: no government wants to dish out the big money that a purely conventional defense would require.

The British and French position has awkward implications. If the United States ever adopts a "no-first-use" policy toward nuclear weapons, for example, the British and French stance against arms reductions will harden still further.

Meanwhile, the Reagan hardliners are pointing to the British and French line as yet another excuse for not accelerating the pace of the nuclear arms talks. This tactic is inexcusable. There are, of course, some questions that must be posed to Andropov: For example, when he says "reduce," does he mean to actually dismantle hundreds of his theater missiles or to simply move them east of the Urals? But Andropov's proposal is, at last, a negotiation offer to be discussed seriously.

The British and French want their own "independent" nuclear arsenal. But they should not stand in the way of a sound, independent arms control position for the United States. □

Take Outs From The Atomic Cafe

A battle is raging in the distance. Twelve soldiers advance towards what appears to be gunfire and explosions of ammunition. Suddenly, the military formation is broken and one of the soldiers turns and speaks: "Hey, Sarge, that hill just got hit by a nuke and we already got our quota of radiation during the last maneuver." In a matter of moments a full scale mutiny is occurring.

This scene was created for a typical training film made by the U.S. Army in the late 1950s so that military officers could learn how to handle insubordination during the atomic age. It was also part of a sequence that the creators of *The Atomic Cafe*—Kevin Rafferty, Jayne Loader and Pierce Rafferty—worked on for months to show how the government imagined a post-nuclear war world could be managed. But it was cut when they opted instead to end the film with the blinding flash and finality of World War III.

The Atomic Cafe, released last March and still playing in many movie houses in the United States and Europe, includes only a small sampling of the propaganda produced during the "duck and cover" era. The three co-producers of the film tapped a wealth of material during their five-year examination of the oral and visual message that shaped public perception of the atomic bomb during the 1940s, '50s and '60s. When they emerged from the basement editing room in Arlington, Virginia, last winter with an expertly constructed documentary, much of the atomic era was left behind on the cutting room floor.

Kevin Rafferty recently calculated the hours spent looking at government training films, civil defense dramas, newsreels, television shows and Hollywood films. With three people viewing four hours of films daily for a year, and one person viewing the equivalent amount for four years, Rafferty figures that it took approximately 17,600 hours to select highlights for the 90-minute *Atomic Cafe*.

The filmmakers seem completely happy with *The Atomic Cafe* but express some editorial regrets: A number of their favorite film sequences got cut out of the



**Outtake from a 1953 civil defense film:
Mannequin family awaits attack in shelter.**

final print. Kevin Rafferty cites a film clip from the People's Republic of China depicting Chinese soldiers charging into a mushroom cloud on horseback; at one point it was inserted in the World War III sequence to simulate a Chinese invasion of California. One of Jayne Loader's favorites was an animated cartoon called "Pioneer Wife," with simple visuals and song lyrics making a strong statement about involving women in the cause of civil defense. Loader still remembers the lyrics (set to Beethoven's "Ode to Joy"):

*Let me tell you a story of pioneer life
Let me sing you a song of the
brave frontier wife
Wherever her pioneer husband did roam
She stayed by his side and she
made him a home
Now today in this era of nuclear strife
All you ladies must be like that
pioneer wife
In preparing your home for
disasters of war
You need moral courage as never before*

"Jive" from the Government

Jayne Loader and the Raffertys began their research over five years ago in San Francisco. The earliest version of what eventually became *The Atomic Cafe* had more to do with war bonds than war bombs: the World War II programs that encouraged sacrifice for the war effort.

"But getting people to buy war bonds wasn't really such a bad use for propaganda," Loader explains. "We needed a subject that was more black and white. We decided to focus on the atomic bomb because the issue was clear-cut."

In scores of early training films (that would never appear in *Atomic Cafe*), the bomb was cleverly presented as just another weapon, the filmmakers discovered. The premise of these films was that people have always overreacted to new, advanced, destructive tools and have misperceived them as heralding the end of the world. Gun powder, for example, riled 18th century pacifists into mass demonstrations. If the human race could survive the bow and arrow, the cannon, the shotgun and the rifle, the government propaganda chiefs noted, we can certainly survive the atomic bomb.

At the same time, however, the government film producers were preparing for the worst. They produced scores of training films for managers of fallout shelters so that they would know how to establish order in post-attack society. The films invariably suggested that the women make the coffee and the men make all the decisions.

A Dylanesque folk singer was the rebellious hero of "Public Shelter 103," made in the early 1960s. It opens with the singer getting shoved into a bomb shelter after World War III begins. "You people screwed up the world," he tells his fellow shelter occupants. It is not long before the romantic interest in the film, a perky young blond, approaches the outcast and inspires him to join the group. It is only after the singer recovers from a near-fatal illness that he realizes the true meaning of survival. As a productive and reformed shelter participant, he is shown in the final scene leading the group in a sing-along.

But the government filmmakers realized that not everyone would be spared. In the aftermath of a nuclear war the dead would have to be buried, so the government made a film about the best methods to dispose of contaminated corpses. *Memorial Activities* was an hour-long industrial film, made for the U.S. Army's Quartermaster Corps, which explained, to the mildly melodic

sound of Muzak, how to dig mass graves, and how to mark the fact that they are radioactive so that no one will ever excavate the site.

The counterpoint to all this official fiction, the *Atomic Cafe* creators found, was the frighteningly real documentary material, such as video tapes of animal experiments conducted by the Defense Nuclear Agency. Shown in *The Atomic Cafe* was a clip that pictured pigs being nuked; the results of that experiment, with the insides pouring out of the irradiated animals, didn't leave much hope for humans placed in a similar position. Films of other Nuclear Agency tests, not used in *The Atomic Cafe*, showed scientists placing irradiated monkeys on treadmills to test their stamina, and forcing burros into radioactive areas to see how long they could remain standing.

Jayne Loader and the Raffertys had an amazing array of such material to choose from but as they sharpened their focus for *The Atomic Cafe* some material no longer fit. They did not, according to Loader, want to make "an all-inclusive, antinuclear everything film," and so they did not tackle the nuclear energy industry (and its links to the nuclear weapons issue). They had to leave out of *Atomic Cafe* a wonderful clip that showed a futuristic city of lights with President Eisenhower at its center, using a magic wand to turn on the first commercial nuclear reactor in Shippenport, Pennsylvania. Another bit of nuclear energy propaganda was "Ion the Neutron Batter," a cartoon aimed at children that used a baseball motif. Over a fast, jazzy beat these lyrics were sung:

*I am Ion the Neutron Batter
Trying to break up matter
But matter has a hard make-up
Very few will break up
Very few will jive
Very few will jive*

Hooray from Hollywood

While government filmmakers were cranking out pro-nuclear films, the bomb was being utilized in Hollywood as just another element of popular culture, Loader and the Raffertys discovered.

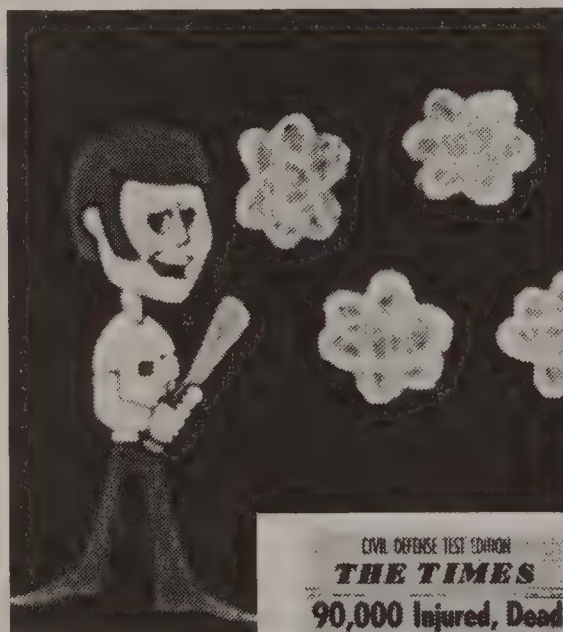
They uncovered a drama called *The Beginning or The End*, which reconstructed the Manhattan Project and the Hiroshima bombing. In this movie Enrico Fermi came across more like an Italian street vendor than a nuclear physicist, and Paul Tibbets, the *Enola Gay* pilot, was portrayed as The Victim whose marriage fell apart in his effort to save the world. World War III provided an explosive backdrop to a number of dramas, including *Panic in the Year Zero*, with Ray Milland fighting the forces of anarchy to save his family after the bomb

drops, and *The World, the Flesh, and the Devil*, with Harry Belafonte and Inger Stevens as the last people on earth.

None of these famous faces, however, appeared in *The Atomic Cafe*. The film makers decided against incorporating the Hollywood dramas into their film because of the prohibitive copyright costs—the government films, which comprise about 85 percent of *The Atomic Cafe*, were in the public domain—and for reasons of clarity. They didn't want the audience to become confused about which sequences were Hollywood-produced and which were government-produced.

But imagine what the effect could have been of juxtaposing Mickey Rooney as *The Atomic Kid* with the U.S. Army training film chaplain, from *The Atomic Cafe*, who witnessed every nuclear test and claims that the bomb "is a beautiful sight to behold." In movie-land, Rooney stumbles onto a Nevada test site, gets dosed with radiation, is chased by spies, and becomes a television celebrity, billed as the "atomic kid." By the end of the film he is back on his feet and in good health again.

In the editing process, the *Atomic Cafe* crew had to eliminate massive chunks of film produced by the government and Hollywood. But they also had



Ion the Neutron Batter (top) didn't make the final cut; a mock, post-attack "Civil Defense Test Edition" (at right)

to kill footage they had shot themselves.

Early in the film-making process, Loader and the Raffertys shot a series of interviews in Barnwell, South Carolina, with antinuclear demonstrators, Hiroshima survivors, and with Solomon Blatt, the mayor of Barnwell. They covered Congressional hearings and the an-

nual Arms Convention, and they interviewed Bikini Atoll natives at the Howard Johnson's across from the Watergate Hotel, where they were staying during a visit to Washington to testify on Capitol Hill.

The natives had been moved from Bikini in 1946 so that the island could be used as the site for Operation Crossroads, the fourth atomic bomb blast. The radio announcer in *The Atomic Cafe* commented that the natives "... in their simplicity and their pleasantness and their courtesy [are] more than willing to cooperate, although they don't understand the world of nuclear energy any more than we do." When the natives moved back to their homeland they discovered that the coconuts from which their children were drinking milk contained a high level of radioactivity. For years they were forced to live on an island that had no coastline for fishing; they survived on Army surplus food and welfare checks. Yet, in the 1978 interview for *Atomic Cafe*, they expressed no anger toward the U.S. government, which they referred to as their "father."

Loader and the Raffertys spent over \$10,000 on equipment and film before they decided not to use any of the interview material in *The Atomic Cafe*. The Arms Convention footage, however, did find its way into another antinuclear film, *Dark Circle*.

"The bulk of all the live interviews seemed formally distracting and they would do what we never wanted to do, which was to talk down to the audience," Loader explains. Kevin Rafferty adds: "We trusted the audience to make the connections themselves between the atomic tests and the inevitable results."

Another reason the filmmakers give for editing out the live footage is that it would have brought the film a little too much up-to-date and voided its "classic" quality. One excised shot, showing Jackson Browne strumming his guitar during a rally in Barnwell, confirms that this was probably a wise decision.

Contemporary audiences in this country and in Europe (and especially in Germany, for some reason), are reacting openly to the chilling humor of the atomic era propaganda that comprises most of *The Atomic Cafe* in its finished form. "The film gives an historical perspective to current events," Loader explains. "But it is up to the audience to juxtapose the images that launched the atomic era with the actual nuclear arms buildup of today, and to draw their own conclusions about actions for the future." — Susan Kellam

Susan Kellam is a freelance writer and a writer/editor with the Cornucopia Project of Rodale Press.

• RESOURCES •

NEW BOOKS

The Peace Bishops and The Arms Race by George Weigel (World Without War Council, 421 South Wabash, Chicago, IL 60603, \$2). This succinct booklet contains statements by four representative peace bishops, and responses from other clerics on how religious leadership can help prevent war.

The Disarmament Catalog, edited by Murray Polner (Pilgrim Press, \$12.95 paper). A smorgasbord of facts, figures, statements and resources, including many church groups. Particularly valuable for speechmakers seeking quotes from Dorothy Day and other religious figures.

To End War, by Robert Woito (Pilgrim Press, \$12.95 paper). An updated version of a very valuable book first published in 1970 by the World Without War Council. Summarizes approaches to arms control in plain English, and presents what it calls "the most extensive war and peace bibliography ever compiled."

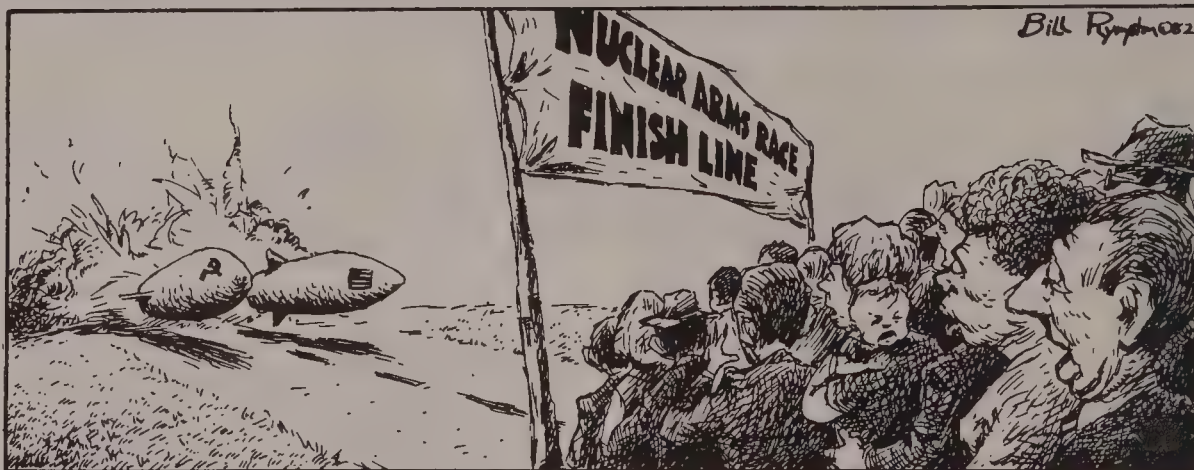
Arms Control and Peacekeeping, by Ralph M. Goldman (Random House, \$9.95 paper; order by calling 800-638-6460). An excellent basic text for peace studies by a political science professor. Goldman discusses ways of achieving arms control by building confidence and political trust among nations.

FILM GUIDES

War. Peace. Film Guide. (\$2 from John Dowling, Physics Department, Mansfield State College, Mansfield, PA 16933.) The film review editor of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* has compiled a list of over 100 titles. A selection of some of the films on Dowling's list is available for \$1.00 from the Educational Film Library Association, 43 West 61 Street, New York, NY 10023.

Nuclear Film Guide by David Brown. Another very complete guide to over 100 films. (Send \$5.50 to Nuclear Film Guide, 2114 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94118.)

Guide to Disarmament Media (available for \$1.00—bulk orders are cheaper—from the Media Network, 208 West 13 Street, New York, NY 10011). The eight-page guide describes 26 films, videotapes, and slideshows. It also provides thoughtful tips on using films as educational and organizing tools. For example, the guide points out that films dwelling graphically "on the horrible effects of nuclear war bring home the seriousness of the arms race, but can leave audiences feeling numbed or even hopeless Programming two films together is one effective way to deal with these problems Sometimes it can be useful to show a film that promotes the arms race along with



One of Bill Plympton's contributions to *War Heads*, a new collection of antinuclear cartoons (Penguin, \$4.95).

one promoting disarmament, pointing out factual discrepancies or evidence of political interest."

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign also offers a two-page list of slide shows and films not listed elsewhere. Several focus on economic conversion. (Ten cents from NWFC National Clearinghouse, 4144 Lindell Boulevard, Suite 201, St. Louis, MO 63108.)

Nuclear War Films by John Dowling (*Countdown*, March 1982 issue, \$1.00 from FAS Nuclear War Education Project, 307 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002). In this newsletter article, Dowling lists what he considers "the eight best nuclear war films" and gives tips on showing them to groups.

NEW FILMS

Gods of Metal, produced and directed by Robert Richter, 27 minutes (\$25 rental from Maryknoll Films, Maryknoll, NY). Rather than concentrating on the horrific effects of nuclear war, this film emphasizes activism with a Christian perspective. It concentrates on the effects of the arms race on the poor, and provides examples of people who have embraced a variety of effective actions: public resolutions supporting a nuclear freeze, demonstrations, some forms of civil disobedience, including tax and draft resistance.

No First Use: Preventing Nuclear War (\$25 rental from Union of Concerned Scientists, 1384 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138 617-547-5552). Produced for UCS's second nation-wide Veterans Day teach-in on arms control last fall, this half-hour documentary concentrates on the fallacy of a policy of limited nuclear war, and the need for an American policy of no-first-use of nuclear weapons.

One Million Hiroshimas, 28 minutes (\$50 rental from Resource Center for Non Violence, P.O. Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063 408-423-1626). This new film documents a meeting of the International

Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, held last spring in Great Britain. It includes statements by Russian doctors, and an interview with Robert Jay Lifton on the psychic roots of militarism. It's modeled on *The Last Epidemic*, in which doctors and scientists describe the medical effects of nuclear war (48 minutes, available for \$50 rental from Impact Productions, 135 Hugus Avenue, Santa Cruz, CA 95062).

How Much Is Enough? produced and directed by Andrew A. Stern (59 minutes, \$85 rental from Docuamerica Films, P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417, 201-891-8240.) A lucid history of nuclear strategy first telecast last summer on PBS. In examining ten chapters in the arms race—including, most recently, the manufacture of cruise and Pershing II missiles—Stern concludes that "decisions on nuclear weapons have not been made with a cool, logical rationale. Rather, the process has been haphazard, capricious, arbitrary, and, most of all, deeply political." With a minimum of inflammatory statements and photography that is convincing and effective, the film deals with the men behind the missiles and how they make decisions that keep the arms race going.

NUCLEAR FILM CLASSICS

The War Game, directed by Peter Watkins (\$150 rental from Films, Inc., 440 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10016, 212-889-7910).

The Day After Trinity, directed by Jon Else, 88 minutes (\$125 rental from Pyramid Films, Box 1048, Santa Monica, CA 90406 213-828-7577).

Eight Minutes to Midnight, directed by Mary Benjamin, 60 minutes (\$180 rental from Direct Cinema Ltd., Box 69589, Los Angeles, CA 90069 213-656-4700).

Nuclear Nightmares, directed by Nigel Calder, 90 minutes (175 rental from Corinth Films, 410 East 62 Street, New York, NY 10021 212-421-4770).

—Compiled by Ann Marie Cunningham

• CALENDAR •

CONTINUING EVENTS

CONSIDER THE ALTERNATIVES This month's weekly series of radio programs will include: "Beyond the Nuclear Freeze," with Noam Chomsky and Sid Lens; "The SANE Peace Award," with 1982 winner Ed Asner, Benjamin Spock, and Colleen Dewhurst; and "Counterforce Weapons," a documentary produced by Radio West. For a monthly program guide to stations and schedules around the nation (\$5), contact the SANE Education Fund, 5808 Greene St., Philadelphia, PA 19144 (215) 848-4100.

FEBRUARY 3 NEW YORK

• **New York** Forum on nuclear-free Pacific issues, introducing a slide show relating the Pacific to the global nuclear build-up; 48 Henry St. *Contact:* David Chen, Asian American Caucus for Disarmament (212) 233-5735.

FEBRUARY 4 MISSOURI

• **St. Louis** Third National Conference of Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, Randall Forsberg and others; St. Louis Univ., through Feb 6. *Contact:* Nuclear Weapons Freeze Clearinghouse, 4144 Lindell St, Suite 404, St. Louis, MO 63108 (314) 533-1169.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Two plays to benefit the nu-

clear freeze program of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church: "Journey's End" by R.C. Sherriff (Feb 4, 7) and "DEROS on the Funny Farm" by Michael Shannon (Feb 5, 6, 8); Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, 73 St at Madison Av, New York, NY (212) 288-8920.

WISCONSIN

• **Merrill** Peacemaker training workshops, through Feb 5; Holy Cross Center. Also March 4-5 at the Holy Cross Diocese Ctr in **La Crosse**. *Contact:* Ecumenical Partnership for Peace and Justice, Route 2, Box 161, Turtle Lake, WI 54889 (715) 268-2816.

FEBRUARY 5 ARIZONA

• **Tucson** Dinner and presentation on European peace movements, with an emphasis on Greenham Common. *Contact:* Nuclear-Free State, 1145 E 6 St SE, Tucson, AZ 85719 (602) 792-3517.

CONNECTICUT

• **New Haven** Conference, "Not Just an Ordinary Nightmare: Helping Our Children Through the Age of Nuclear Weapons," with Robert Jay Lifton, Bill Caldicott of Boston Children's Hospital, and others; Yale Medical School, Office of Continuing Education, 333 Cedar St, New Haven, CT 06510 (203) 785-4578.

IDAHO

• **Boise** Statewide planning meeting of peace groups, through Feb 6. *Contact:*

Snake River Alliance, Box 1731, Boise, ID 83701 (208) 344-9161.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Canterbury, Hanover, New Ipswich** Skiathon, third annual AFSC Ski for Peace. *Contact:* AFSC, Box 1081, Concord, NH 03301 (603) 224-2407.

NEW YORK

• **Albany** Military tax resistance counselor training, with Ed Hedeman; Friends Meeting House. *Contact:* Knolls Action Project, Box 3152, Albany, NY 12203 (518) 434-4037.

VIRGINIA

• **Virginia Beach** Peace Awareness Day, discussions and films; Tidewater Peace Center, 1537 Laskin Rd, Virginia Beach, VA 23453 (804) 425-5414.

FEBRUARY 6 RHODE ISLAND

• **Providence** Dinner, "Beyond the Freeze: Nuclear Weapons and U.S. Foreign Policy," with Noam Chomsky. *Contact:* AFSC, Box 2449, Providence, RI 02906 (401) 751-4488.

FEBRUARY 7 CALIFORNIA

• **Anaheim** To protest the WINCON Military Weapons Conference there will be a candlelight vigil Feb 7, followed by demonstrations Feb 8-10 outside of the Disneyland Hotel, where the conference is being held. *Contact:* Orange County Alliance for Survival,

654 N Hariton St, Orange, CA 92668 (714) 997-9922.

WISCONSIN

• **Madison** Seminars on disarmament, every Monday; St. Paul's Univ. Catholic Center. *Contact:* Mary Beth Schlagheck (608) 836-4477.

FEBRUARY 8 MASSACHUSETTS

• **Cambridge** Conference, "Beyond Reaganomics and the Arms Race: Steps We Can Take," with David Gordon and others; First Parish Church. *Contact:* AFSC, 2161 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02140 (617) 661-6130.

MISSOURI

• **Kansas City** Lecture by John Somerville on nuclear issues; Temple B'nai Jeduah, 69 St at Holmes. *Contact:* Beth Seberger, Kansas City Interfaith Peace Alliance, 3031 Holmes, Kansas City, MO 64109 (816) 931-1310.

• **St. Louis** Town meetings on the freeze: 2nd congressional district, Feb 8; 1st congressional district, Feb 17; 3rd congressional district, Feb 22. *Contact:* St. Louis Committee for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 438 N Skinker, St. Louis, MO 63130 (314) 862-5770.

TENNESSEE

• **Nashville** Talk on the nuclear arms freeze by former Congressman Robert Drinan, SJ; Vanderbilt Univ. *Contact:* Carolyn Cotton, 1915 Wildwood Av, Nashville, TN (615) 298-1086.

WAR, PEACE & THE NEWS MEDIA

A conference at New York University exploring the role of the news media in providing information on the arms race and Soviet-American relations.

March 18th-19th, 1983

Organized by the Department of Journalism, with a grant from the Gannett Foundation. For journalists (both print and broadcast); academicians and policymakers; students of journalism, politics and international relations.

Advisory Board: Hodding Carter, Walter Cronkite, James Fallows, Robert MacNeil, Frank Mankiewicz, Bill Moyers, Tom Pettit, and John Seigenthaler

Participants: Reporters William Beecher, Peter Brestrup, Barrie Dunsmore, Anne Garrels, Drew Middleton, Judith Miller, Tom Powers; SALT negotiator Ralph Earle; Defense analyst Sidney Drell; Stephen Hess; and more.

Friday, March 18th (8:00 pm-10:00 pm)

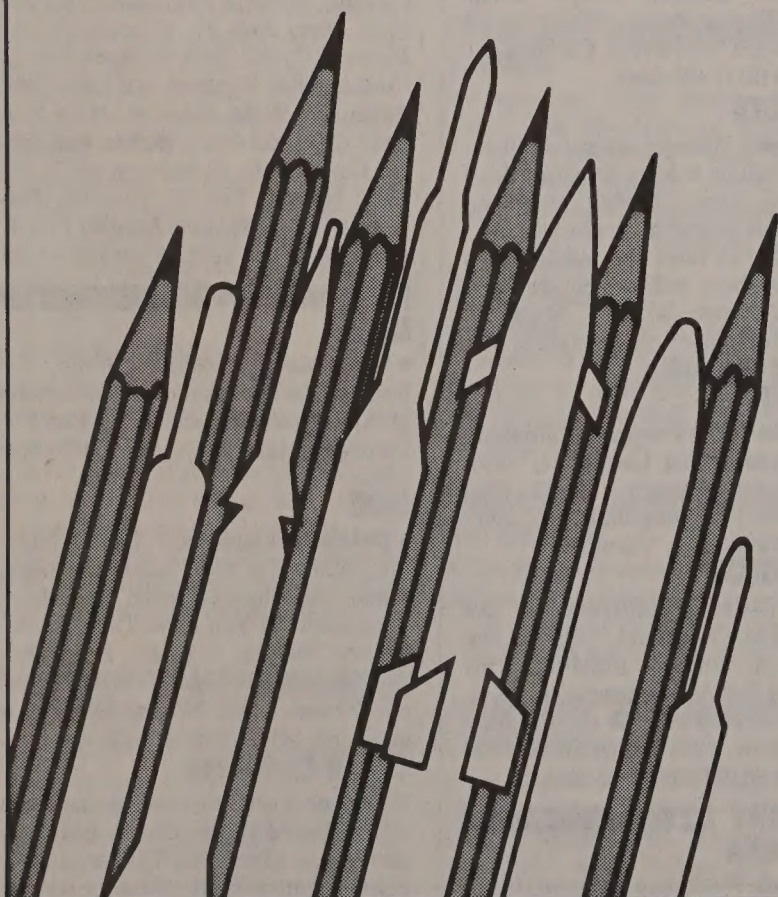
• News Media Coverage of Weapons and Negotiations

Saturday, March 19th (9:30 am-4:45 pm)

• A News Media Portrait of Soviet Strategy (9:30-noon)
• The Journalists at State and Defense (1:30-3:00 pm)
• Are War and Peace the Same Beat? (3:15-4:45 pm)

Registration: Preregister by February 18th so that conference materials can be mailed in advance. Registration fee, including conference papers: \$50, Students: \$15. Saturday lunch optional: \$10. Please send your name, address, business phone and professional affiliation with your check made out to New York University to: War, Peace & the News Media, Dept. of Journalism, 1021 Main Building, NYU, New York, NY 10003. For more information contact Pamela Abrams at (212) 598-3791.

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ration of Independence From The
War in Vietnam*

• **Barbara Deming** —the feminist
connection to nonviolence—*On
Revolution and Equilibrium*

• **Henry David Thoreau** —the origin-
al architect of resistance—*On the
Duty of Civil Disobedience*

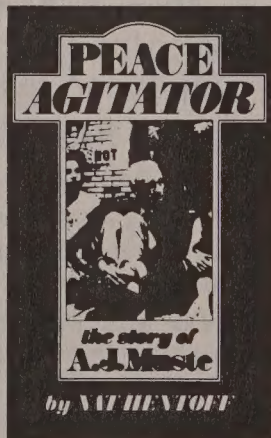
• **Jesse Wallace Hughan** —suffra-
gist, activist, founder of the War
Resisters League—*Pacifism and In-
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• CALENDAR •

FEBRUARY 9 MAINE

• **Ellsworth** Presentation, "War Taxes:
Refusal and Resistance," sponsored by
Hancock County CALC. *Contact:*
Elaine Hewes, Box 115, Blue Hill, ME
04614 (207) 469-2144.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Film, "In the King of Prus-
sia," the first night to benefit the Reli-
gious Task Force of Mobilization for
Survival, through Feb 22; Film Forum,
57 Watts St. *Contact:* MOB Religious
Task Force, 85 S Oxford St, Brooklyn,
NY 11217 (212) 858-6882.

VERMONT

• **Burlington** Opening of an exhibit of
Hiroshima photographs at City Hall,
with Helen Caldicott speaking at the
Univ. of Vermont. *Contact:* Wendy
Coe, Burlington Peace Coalition, 52 N
Winooski Av, Burlington, VT 05401
(802) 658-6289.

WISCONSIN

• **Milwaukee** Panel discussion, "Resist-
ance to Militarism," and film "Gods of
Metal"; UWM Union. *Contact:* Mil-
waukee MOB, 1016 N 9th St, Milwau-
kee, WI 53233 (414) 272-0961.

FEBRUARY 10 TEXAS

• **Seguin** Conference, "Nuclear Weap-
ons: The Human Impact," with Henry
Steele Commager, Harrison Salisbury,
and others; Guadalupe County Coli-
seum, through Feb 12. *Contact:* Phil
Gilbertson, Texas Lutheran College,
Seguin, TX 78155 (512) 379-4161.

FEBRUARY 11 IDAHO

• **Boise** Peace Dance, fundraiser for
Snake River Alliance; St. Mary's Hall.
Contact: Snake River Alliance, Box
1731, Boise, ID 83701 (208) 344-9161.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Cambridge** Conference, "Law and
Lawyers in Arms Control and Peace-
making," with Louis Sohn, Robert Lif-
ton, and others, through Feb 12; Har-
vard Law School, Pound Bldg.
Contact: Waging Peace, 105 Memorial
Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge,
MA 02138 (617) 495-3945.

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Women against Military
Madness will be holding freeway dem-
onstrations every Friday afternoon
and marches down the mall every sec-
ond Monday to raise the public's con-
sciousness about militarism. *Contact:*
Women Against Military Madness,
3255 Hennepin Av S, Minneapolis, MN
55408 (612) 827-5362.

VERMONT

• **Burlington** Conference, "Thinking
Globally and Acting Locally II," with
Michio Kaku, through Feb 13; City
Hall. *Contact:* Burlington Peace Coal-
ition, See February 9, Vermont.

WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Regional conference of the
National Lawyers Guild, "Making the
Links: U.S. Military Build-up, Cut-
backs, and Political Oppression"; Mon-
roe Center, 1810 NW 65 St. *Contact:*
Barney Drew, 1205 Smith Tower, Se-
attle, WA 98104 (206) 622-5144.

FEBRUARY 12 CALIFORNIA

• **El Granada** Workshop, "Women in the

Nuclear Age"; Joy Marcus, Center to
Prevent Nuclear Annihilation, Box
837, El Granada, CA 94018 (415) 726-
2054.

CONNECTICUT

• **New Haven** Workshop series, "Nu-
clear Weapons and the Democratic
Process"; Whitney Humanities Ctr, 53
Wall St. Also Feb 19, 26, March 5 and
12. *Contact:* Yale Humanities Office
(203) 436-3416.

MISSISSIPPI

• **Jackson** Peace Encounter, a 25 hour
retreat. *Contact:* Jackson Pax Christi,
Box 2248, Jackson, MS 39205 (601) 366-
4452.

RHODE ISLAND

• **Providence** Statewide conference
planning future directions for freeze
and disarmament work throughout the
state, with Randy Kehler and others.
Contact: Women for a Non-Nuclear
Future, Box 2429, Providence, RI
02906 (401) 751-5166.

SOUTH CAROLINA

• **Clemson** Conference, "Nuclear Arms
Literacy: How Can We Deal with Poli-
ticians Who Tell Us to Leave It to the
Experts?"; through Feb 13; Clemson
Unitarian Fellowship. *Contact:* Chris
Foreman, Box 263, Sandy Springs, SC
(803) 656-2301 or (803) 261-8721.

FEBRUARY 13 MASSACHUSETTS

• **Statewide** Caucuses will be held in
each of Massachusetts' congressional
districts to prepare delegations for the
national freeze lobbying day. *Contact:*
Council for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze,
2161 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge,
MA 02140 (617) 491-7809.

TEXAS

• **STATEWIDE** Julie Loesch, national co-
ordinator of Prolifers for Survival, will
be giving a series of talks, "Nukes and
the Next Generation," in: **Brownsville**
Feb 13-14, *Contact:* Mary Ann
Wingert (512) 428-3695; **Houston** Feb
15-17, *Contact:* Jim Babcock (713) 661-
2208; **Austin-San Antonio area** Feb 18-20,
Contact: Richard Pruiksma (512) 478-
2734; **Waco** Feb 21, *Contact:* Louise
Moore (817) 863-5079; **Ft. Worth** Feb 22,
Contact: Bill Weiland (817) 283-7157;
Dallas Feb 23-24, *Contact:* Mike Ken-
nedy (214) 821-0860; **Wichita Falls** Feb
25, *Contact:* Jo Richardson (817) 692-
5375; **Lubbock** Feb 26, *Contact:* Jane
Banner (806) 793-0806; **Amarillo** Feb 27,
Contact: Leroy Behnke (806) 655-1858.

FEBRUARY 14 MAINE

• **Damariscotta** Bake-off, "Bread, Not
Bombs," to benefit local disarmament
groups. *Contact:* Jean Harris, Box 698,
Damariscotta, ME 04543 (207) 563-
5531.

OHIO

• **Cleveland** Valentine's Day celebra-
tion, "Love for this Planet," including
films, "No Place to Hide" and Helen
Caldicott's "If You Love This Planet";
Colony Theatre. *Contact:* Polly Dun-
can, Greater Cleveland Nuclear Weap-
ons Freeze, 3800 Bridge Av, Clevel-
and, OH 44113 (216) 631-2210.

SOUTH CAROLINA

• **Clemson** Nuclear Freeze Roundtable,
with Edward Teller, Charlton Heston,
and freeze advocates; Tillman Auditor-
ium, Clemson Univ. *Contact:* Horace

Fleming, Strom Thurmond Inst., 201 Martin St, Clemson, SC 29631 (803) 656-4700.

FEBRUARY 16 NEW YORK

• **New York** Ash Wednesday prayer vigil and protest action outside of Riverside Research Institute, which helps produce military engineering systems; 330 W 42 St. *Contact:* MOB Religious Task Force, see **February 9**, New York.

OHIO

• **Statewide** "Ghosts of Hiroshima," a multi-media documentary drama about survivors of the Hiroshima bombing, will be performed in: **Columbus**, Ohio Dominican College (Feb 16); **Granville**, Denison Univ. (Feb 22); **Cleveland**, Case Western Reserve Univ. (Feb 23); **Wilmington**, Wilmington Peace Ctr. (Mar 3). *Contact:* Deborah Lubar, Lantern Theatre Co., 218 Forest St, Oberlin, OH 44074 (216) 774-5936.

FEBRUARY 17 TEXAS

• **San Antonio** Conference, "Pax: Our Choice," with Cora Weiss and others, through Feb 19. *Contact:* Dr. Bill Harris, (512) 432-7875.

VIRGINIA

• **Richmond** Retreat, "Peacemaking in Higher Education Ministries," led by the Rev. Mike Clark, Riverside Church Disarmament Program, through Feb 18; Roslyn Retreat Ctr. *Contact:* Steve Darr, Cooperhouse, 305 Washington St, Blacksburg, VA 24060 (703) 552-2473.

FEBRUARY 18 COLORADO

• **Denver** Statewide conference, with Randy Kehler, Congresswoman Pat Schroeder, and others, through Feb. 20. *Contact:* Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 1660 Lafayette St, Denver, CO 80218 (303) 832-2299.

• **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA** Conference on the nature of the U.S. strategic force's "modernization" program, including the MX, Trident II, cruise and Pershing II missiles, through Feb 19. *Contact:* Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Av NE, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 546-8400.

NEVADA

• **Las Vegas** Puppet show by Camy Condon, "Puppets for Peace," with a workshop. *Contact:* Sister Rosemary Lynch, Franciscan Center, 704 W. McWilliams Av, Las Vegas, NV 89106 (702) 647-3610.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Portsmouth** Breakfast forum on the Freeze, with Mark Niedergang of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies and Russell Doherty, director of the Air Force Association; Yokens Restaurant, Rte 1. *Contact:* Womens Action for Nuclear Disarmament, 204 Washington Street, Portsmouth, NH 03801 (603) 431-7623.

FEBRUARY 19 CALIFORNIA

• **Oakland** Atomic Widows conference of the National Association of Radiation Survivors. *Contact:* 231 27th St, San Francisco, CA 94131 (415) 652-4400, ext. 441.

FLORIDA

• **Orlando** Statewide meeting of Florida Coalition for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze; Friends Meeting House. *Contact:* AFSC, 130 19th St SE, St. Petersburg, FL 33705 (813) 822-5522.

ILLINOIS

• **Evanston** Nuclear freeze benefit dance; Unitarian Church. *Contact:* Gene Podulka, 1321 Sleepy Hollow Lane, Glenview, IL 60025 (312) 724-8957.

MICHIGAN

• **Detroit** Conference on the freeze; Wayne State Univ. *Contact:* Michigan Freeze Campaign, Box 2257, Detroit, MI 48226 (313) 577-5053.

NEBRASKA

• **Kearney** Nebraskans for Peace Annual Meeting, St. James Catholic Church, 3801 Avenue A. *Contact:* Betty Olson, Nebraskans For Peace, 430 S 16 St, Lincoln, NE 68308 (402) 475-4620.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Concord** Conference, "Hidden Causes of the Arms Race," with speakers, workshops and films; Franklin Pierce Law Ctr. *Contact:* AFSC, See **February 5**, New Hampshire.

NEW JERSEY

• **Cranford** Fundraising folkdance with Annette Kurz, leader of International Folkdancing, to send people to Brussels for the Women's Int'l. League for Peace and Freedom conference; United Auto Workers Dist. 9 Hall. *Contact:* Sylvia Zisnan, WILPF, 104 Warwick Circle, Springfield, NJ 07081 (201) 376-5629.

NEW MEXICO

• **Albuquerque** Forum on Civil Defense, with panels and presentations of FEMA plans; Convention Ctr. *Contact:* New Mexico Peace Conversion, 5021 Guadalupe Tr NW, Albuquerque, NM 87107 (505) 344-1140.

WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Talk, "Preventing Nuclear War," by Valentin Berezhkov of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C. *Contact:* Eugene or Kathryn Coronetz (206) 523-9060.

FEBRUARY 20 FLORIDA

• **Tallahassee** Film series: "Atomic Cafe"; **Feb 27**—"George Kennan: A Critical Voice" and "War Games"; Moore Auditorium, Florida State Univ. *Contact:* Tallahassee Peace Coal., Box 431, Tallahassee, FL 32302 (904) 222-5845.

NEW JERSEY

• **Montclair** Concert of chamber music to benefit New Jersey SANE; Unitarian Church, Fletcher Hall. *Contact:* SANE, 324 Bloomfield Ave, Montclair, NJ (201) 744-3263.

FEBRUARY 22 NATIONWIDE

• The Public Broadcasting System will be televising a special edition of NOVA on the morality of nuclear war. Check local listings for stations and times.

FEBRUARY 23 CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** Annual Clergy Seminar II, "The Human Cost of the Arms Race: Psychological, Economic, and Spiritual," with Robert Jay Lifton,

Gordon Adams, and Bishop Francis Quinn; Leo Baeck Temple. *Contact:* Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race, 132 N Euclid, Pasadena, CA 91101 (213) 449-9430.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Public meeting on Euromissiles and first strike strategy, with Michio Kaku and others; Washington Square Methodist Church. *Contact:* Laura Simich, MOB, 135 W 4 St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 673-1808.

FEBRUARY 25 FLORIDA

• **Brooksville** "Florida New Call to Peacemaking: Doing Our Peace," with workshops on the Peace Academy legislation, peace conversion, and other topics, through Feb 27; Lakewood Retreat Ctr. *Contact:* Keith and Gail Pentz, 837 Highland Ave 2-A, Orlando, FL 32803 (305) 422-4661.

FEBRUARY 26 CONNECTICUT

• **Statewide** Freeze Week, through Mar 5. *Contact:* Connecticut Freeze Campaign, RD 1, Box 494, Voluntown, CT 06384 (203) 376-4098.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Hanover** Conference, "Talking With Your Neighbors About Nuclear War," speakers training teach-in for rural activists. *Contact:* Robin Canwisher, % Fred Osher, Dartmouth Hitchcock Medical Ctr, 9 Maynard St, Hanover, NH 03755 (603) 448-5495.

WASHINGTON

• **Richland** State freeze meeting. *Contact:* Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 4534 1/2 University Way NE, Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 632-6205.

FEBRUARY 27 ARIZONA

• **Tucson** Conference "Plain Talk About National Security," through February 28; Univ. of Arizona. *Contact:* The Continuing Education Department, Univ. of Arizona, 1717 E Speedway Blvd, Room 1201, Tucson, AZ 85719 (602) 626-1232.

CONNECTICUT

• **Avon** Film, "Atomic Cafe," fundraiser for the Connecticut Freeze Campaign; Avon Twin Cinema. *Contact:* Anne Batterson, 92 East Hill Rd, Canton, CT 06019 (203) 693-0504.

ILLINOIS

• **Lake Forest** Talk and slide show on the nuclear arms race by Larry Smarr; Lake Forest College. *Contact:* Priscilla Lewis, 347 Circle Lane, Lake Forest, IL 60045 (312) 295-3110.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Performance, "The Last Talk Show," by Jan Bergquist, Swedish TV and stage star, about disarmament; Disarmament Program, Riverside Church, 122 St at Riverside Dr, New York, NY 10027 (212) 222-5900.

MARCH 1 CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** Films on nuclear issues including "The War Game" and "The Jetté," to benefit the Abalone Alliance; The Red Victorian Movie House. *Contact:* Abalone Alliance, 2940 16th St, Room 310, San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 861-0592.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Opening of an exhibit of the original cartoons and illustrations from the book *Warheads*, to be published mid-February by Penguin Books. Pro-

ceeds from a fundraising party hosted by George Plimpton and Jules Feiffer (single tickets \$35, couples \$50, including a free copy of *Warheads*) and the book's royalties will go to the nuclear weapons freeze campaign of the Westside Action Coalition; Sinden Galleries, 1035 Madison Ave. *Contact:* Westside Action Coalition, 165 W. 86 St, New York, NY 10024 (212) 362-4890.

VERMONT

• **Statewide** Town meetings voting on the new freeze resolution. *Contact:* Jim Geier, 2 Howard St, Burlington, VT 05401 (802) 862-5929.

MARCH 3 NEBRASKA

• **Omaha** General meeting on the freeze with Dr. Robert Heaney of Physicians for Social Responsibility; First United Methodist Church. *Contact:* Nebraska Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 1715 Izard St, Omaha, NE 68102 (402) 341-4427.

MARCH 4

• **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA** Conference, with workshops on lobbying skills, the freeze and military appropriations, through Mar 7; George Washington Univ., Marvin Ctr. *Contact:* Judy Schnidman, U.S. Student Association, 2000 P St NW, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20000 (202) 775-8943.

IDAHO

• **Nampa** Peace conference, with Dale Auckerman, author of *Darkening Valley*, and workshops, through March 6; Church of the Brethren. *Contact:* Karen Nolt, New Call to Peacemaking, 3016 Arthur St, Boise, ID 83703 (208) 344-4197.

MARCH 6

• **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA** National conference of the Fair Budget Action Campaign on the impact of defense and tax policy on human services, through Mar 8; University of the District of Columbia. *Contact:* Bill Kamela, National Urban Coalition, 1201 Connecticut Av NW, Suite 400, Washington, DC 20006 (202) 331-2400.

OREGON

• **Eugene** Symposium on women and the nuclear threat; Lane County Fairgrounds. *Contact:* Citizen Action for Lasting Security, 454 Williamette St, Eugene, OR 97401 (503) 343-8548.

MARCH 7

• **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA** On March 7 and 8, freeze supporters from around the nation will gather for seminars, caucuses, a rally, and lobbying of members of Congress to coincide with the House of Representatives' consideration of the new freeze resolution. For further information, contact your local freeze campaign office or the Washington office of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 305 Massachusetts Ave NE, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 544-0880.

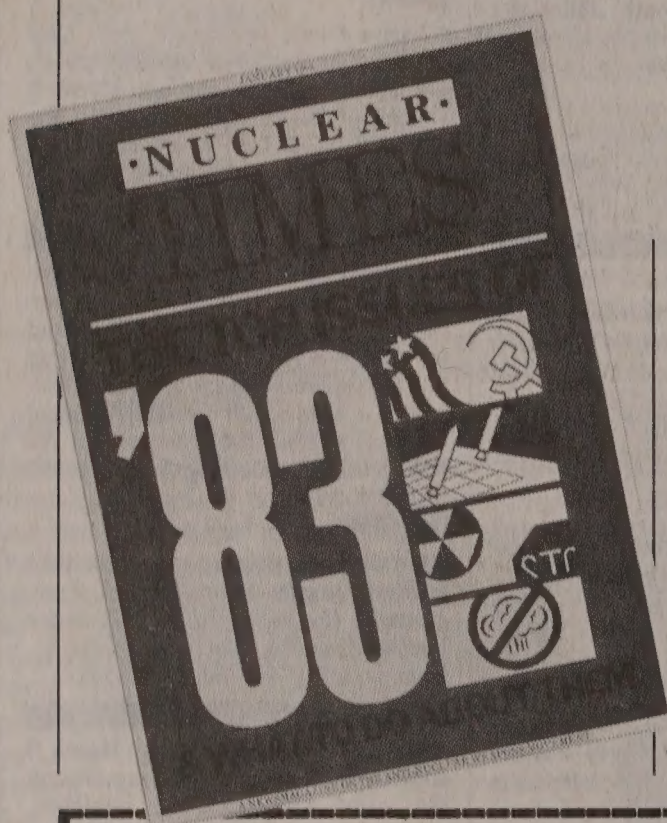
NATIONAL

• **National Student Action Day** focusing on lobbying on Capitol Hill against increased military spending, with actions coordinated nationwide. *Contact:* Judy Schnidman, see **March 4**, District of Columbia.

—compiled by Walter Lew
with Renata Rizzo and Alex Sichel

The deadline for submitting March events is February 8.

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